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MR. GLADSTONE ON THE ARMENIAN QUESTION.

A MEETING was held in the Town Hall, Chester, England, on the 6th of August, for the purpose of discussing the claims of the Armenians in Turkey. The assembly room at the Town Hall was crowded to excess, and many thousands of persons had to be refused admission.

The duke of Westminster presided, and among those present were a great number of members of Parliament.

MR. GLADSTONE, who was received with prolonged cheers, said :—My Lord Duke, my Lords, and Ladies and Gentlemen,—My first observation shall be a repetition of what has already been said by the noble duke, who has assured you that this meeting is not a meeting called in the interests of any party (hear, hear), or having the smallest connexion with those differences of opinion which naturally and warrantably in this free country will spring up in a complex state of affairs, dividing us on certain questions man from man. (Hear, hear.) But, my lord duke, it is satisfactory to observe that freedom of opinion and even these divisions themselves upon certain questions give increased weight and augmented emphasis to the concurrence of the people to the cordial agreement of the whole nation in these matters where the broad principles of common humanity and common justice prevail. (Cheers.)

A QUESTION OF HUMANITY.

It is perfectly true that the Government whose deeds

we have to impeach is a Mahomedan Government, and it is perfectly true that the sufferers under those outrages, under those afflictions, are Christian sufferers. The Mahomedan subjects of Turkey suffer a great deal, but what they suffer is only in the way of the ordinary excesses and defects of an intolerably bad Government—perhaps the worst on the face of the earth. (Hear, hear.) That which we have now to do is, I am sorry to say, the opening up of an entirely new chapter. It is not a question of indifferent laws indifferently enforced. It is not a question of administrative violence and administrative abuse. It cuts further and goes to the root of all that concerns human life in its elementary conditions. But this I will say, that it, instead of dealing with the Turkish Government and impeaching it for its misdeeds towards Christian subjects, we were dealing with a Christian Government that was capable of similar misdeeds towards Mahomedan subjects, our indignation ought to be not less, but greater, than it is now. (Cheers.) Well, I will take the liberty of reading a resolution which has been placed in my hands and which seems to me to express with firmness, but with moderation, the opinions which I am very confident this meeting will entertain, and this meeting, in entertaining such opinions, is but the representative of the country at large. (Cheers.)

AMERICAN SYMPATHY FOR ARMENIA.

Allow me to go further and to say that the country at large in entertaining these ideas is only a representative of civilized humanity, and I will presume to speak on the ground, in part, of personal knowledge, I will presume to speak of the opinions and sympathies that are entertained in that part which is most remote from Armenia—I mean among our own Transatlantic brethren of the United States. If possible, the sentiment in America entertained on the subject of these recent occurrences is even more vivid and even stronger, if it can be, than that which beats in the hearts of the people of this country.

THE RESOLUTION.

The terms of the resolution are as follows :

" That this meeting expresses its conviction that her Majesty's Government will have the cordial support of the entire nation, without distinction of party, in any measures which it may adopt for securing to the people of Turkish Armenia such reforms in the administration of that province as shall provide effective guarantees for the safety of life, honour, religion, and property, and that no reforms can be effective which are not placed under the continuous control of the Great Powers of Europe." (Cheers.)

That means, without doubt, the great Powers of Europe, all who choose to combine, and those great Powers which happily have combined and have already, in my judgment, pledged their honour as well as their power to the attainment of the object we have in view. (Cheers.)

THE ATROCITIES PROVED.

Now, it was my fate, I think some six or more months ago, to address a very limited number, not a public assembly, but a limited number of Armenian gentlemen, and gentlemen interested in Armenia on this subject ; and at that time I ventured to point out that one of our duties was to avoid premature judgments. There was no authoritative and impartial declaration before the world at that period on the subject of what is known as the Sasun massacre ; that massacre to which the noble duke has alluded and with respect to which, horrible as that massacre was, one of the most important witnesses in this case declares that it is thrown into the shade and has become pale and ineffective by the side of the unspeakable horrors which are being enacted from month to month, from week to week, and day to day in the different provinces of Armenia. (Cheers.) It was a duty to avoid premature judgment, and I think it was avoided. There was a great reserve, but at last the engine of dispassionate inquiry was brought to bear, and then it was found that another duty, very important in general in these cases, really in this par-

ticular instance had no particular place at all, and though it is a duty to avoid exaggeration, a most sacred duty, it is a duty that has little or no place in the case before us, because it is too well known that the powers of language hardly suffice to describe what has been and is being done, and that exaggeration, if we were ever so much disposed to it, is in such a case really beyond our power. (Cheers.) Those are dreadful words to speak. It is a painful office to perform, and nothing but a strong sense of duty could gather us together between these walls or could induce a man of my age and a man who is not wholly without other difficulties to contend with to resign for the moment that repose and quietude which is the last of many great earthly blessings remaining to him in order to invite you to enter into a consideration of this question—I will not say in order to invite you to allow yourselves to be flooded with the sickening details that it involves. I shall not attempt to lead you into that dreadful field, but I make this appeal to you. I do hope that every one of you will for himself and herself endeavour in such a degree as your position may allow of you to endeavour to acquire some acquaintance with them (hear, hear), because I know that, when I say that a case of this kind puts exaggeration out of the question, I am making a very broad assertion, which would in most cases be violent, which would in all ordinary cases be unwarrantable. But those who will go through the process I have described, or even a limited portion of the process, will find that the words are not too strong for the occasion. (Cheers.) What witnesses ought we to call before us? I should be disposed to say that it matters very little what witness you call. So far as the character of the testimony you will receive is concerned the witnesses are all agreed. At the time that I have just spoken of, six or eight months ago, they were private witnesses. Since that time, although we have not seen the detailed documents of public authority, yet we know that all the broader statements which had been made up to that time and which have made the blood of this nation run cold have been confirmed

and verified. They have not been overstated, not withdrawn, not qualified, not reduced, but confirmed in all their breadth, in all their horrible substance, in all their sickening details. (Hear, hear.)

AMERICAN WITNESSES.

And here I may say that it is not merely European witnesses with whom we have to deal. We have American witnesses also in the field, and the testimony of the American witnesses is the same as that of the European ; but it is of still greater importance, and for this reason—that everybody knows that America has no separate or sinister political interest of any kind in the affairs of the Levant. She comes into court perfectly honest and perfectly unsuspected and that which she says possesses on that account a double weight. I will not refer to the witnesses in particular, as I have been told you will receive a statement by my reverend friend Canon McColl, who is one of them (cheers) ; but I believe they are absolutely agreed, that there is no shade of difference prevailing among them.

DR. DILLON.

I will refer to the last of these witnesses, one whom I must say I am disposed to name with honour, it is Dr. Dillon (cheers), whose name has appeared within the last three or four days at the foot of an article of unusual length—Ah ! and good were the reasons for extending it to an unusual length—in the *Contemporary Review*. (Cheers.) Perhaps you will ask, as I asked, "Who is Dr. Dillon?" and I am able to describe him to his honour. Dr. Dillon is a man who, as the special commissioner of the *Daily Telegraph* newspaper, some months ago with care and labour, and with the hazard of his life (hear, hear), went into Turkey, laudably making use of a disguise for the purpose, and went into Armenia, so that he might make himself thoroughly master of the facts. (Cheers.) He published his results before any public authority had given utterance to its judgments and those results which he, I rather think, was the first to give to the world in a connected

shape—at any rate he was very early in the field—those results have been completely confirmed and established by the inquiries of the delegates appointed by the three Powers—England, France and Russia. (Cheers.) I say he has, at the risk of his life, acquired a title to be believed, and here he gives us an account which bears upon it all the marks of truth, but which, at the same time that we must believe it to be true, you would say is hardly credible. Unhappily some of those matters which are not credible do, in this strange and wayward world of ours, turn out to be true; and here it is hardly credible that there can dwell in the human form a spirit of such intense and diabolical wickedness as is unhappily displayed in some of the narratives Dr. Dillon has laid before the world. I shall not quote from them in detail, though I mean to make a single citation, which will be a citation, if I may say so, rather of principle than of detail. I shall not quote the details, but I will say to you that when you begin to read them you will see the truth of what I just now said—namely that we are not dealing at all with a common and ordinary question of abuses of government or the defects of them. We are dealing with something that goes far deeper, far wider, and that imposes upon us and upon you far heavier obligations.

THE FOUR CRIMES.

The whole substance of this remarkable article—and it agrees, as I have said, with the testimony of the other witnesses—I am quoting it because it is the latest—the whole substance of this article may be summed up in four awful words—plunder, murder, rape and torture. ("Shame.") Every incident turns upon one or upon several of those awful words. Plunder and murder you would think are bad enough, but plunder and murder are almost venial by the side of the work of the ravisher and the work of the torturer, as it is described in these pages, and as it is now fully and authentically known to be going on. I will keep my word, and I will not be tempted by—what shall I say?—the dramatic interest attached to such exaggeration

of human action as we find here to travel into the details of the facts. They are fitter for private perusal than they are for public discussion. I will not be tempted to travel into them ; I will ask you for a moment, any of you who have not yourselves verified the particulars of the case, to credit me with speaking the truth, until I go on to consider who are the doers of these deeds. In all ordinary cases when we have before us instances of crime, perhaps of very horrible crime—for example, there is a sad story in the papers to-day of a massacre in a portion of China—we at once assume that in all countries, unfortunately, there are malefactors, there are plunderers whose deeds we are going to consider. Here, my lord duke, it is nothing of the kind ; we have nothing to do here with what are called the dangerous classes of the community ; it is not their proceedings which you are asked to consider ; it is the proceedings of the Government of Constantinople and its agents. (Cheers.)

THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBLE.

There is not one of these misdeeds for which the Government at Constantinople is not morally responsible. (Cheers.) Now, who are these agents ? Let me tell you very briefly. They fall into three classes. The first have been mentioned by the noble duke—namely the savage Kurds, who are, unhappily, the neighbors of the Armenians, the Armenians being the representatives of one of the oldest civilized Christian races, and being beyond all doubt one of the most pacific, one of the most industrious, and one of the most intelligent races in the world. (Cheers.) These Kurds are by them ; they are wild, savage clans. There was but one word, my lord duke, in your address that I should have been disposed to literally criticise, and it was the expression that fell from you that the Sultan had "organized" these Kurds. They are, in my belief, in no sense organized—that is to say there is no more organization among them than is to be found, say, in a band of robbers ; they have no other organization, being nothing but a band of robbers. (Cheers.) These

the Sultan and the Government at Constantinople have enrolled, though in a nominal fashion, not without military discipline, into pretended cavalry regiment and then set them loose with the authority of soldiers of the Sultan to harry and destroy the people of Armenia. (Cheers.) Well, these Kurds are the first of the agents in this horrible business ; the next are the Turkish soldiers, who are in no sense behind the Kurds in their performances ; the third are the peace officers, the police and the tax gatherers of the Turkish Government ; and there seems to be a deadly competition among all these classes which shall most prove itself an adept in the horrible and infernal work that is before them, but above them and more guilty than they, are the higher officers of the Turkish Government. You will find, if you look into this paper of Dr. Dillon's, that at every point he has exposed himself to confutation if what he says is inaccurate or untrue. He gives names, titles, places, dates, every particular which would enable the Turkish Government to track him out and detect him and hold him up to public reprobation. You will never hear of an answer from the Turkish Government to that article. That may be a bold thing for me to say ; but I am confident you will never hear an answer from them which shall follow these statements of Dr. Dillon's, based on his own personal experience, through the details, and attempt to shake the fabric of grievously composed materials which he has built up in the face of the world.

THREE PROPOSITIONS.

I think there are certain matters, such as those which have been discussed to-day and discussed in many other forms, on which it is perfectly possible to make up our minds. And what I should say is, that the whole position may be summed up in three brief propositions. I do not know to which of these propositions to assign the less or the greater importance. It appears to me that they are probably each and every one of them absolutely indispensable. The first proposition is this, You ought to moderate your demands. You ought to

ask for nothing but that which is strictly necessary, and that possibly according to all that we know of the proposals before us, the rule has been rigidly complied with. I do not hesitate to say, ladies and gentlemen, that the cleanest and clearest method of dealing with this subject, if we should have done it, would have been to tell the Turk to march out of Armenia. (Loud cheers.) He has no right to remain there, and it would have been an excellent settlement of the question. But it is by no means certain that Europe or even the three Powers would have been unanimous in seeking after that end. Therefore, let us part with everything except what is known to be indispensable. Then I come to the other two rules, and of these the first is that you should accept no Turkish promises. (Hear, hear.) They are absolutely and entirely worthless. They are worse than worthless, because they may serve to elude a few persons who, without information or experience, naturally would suppose, when promises are given, that there is something like an intention of fulfilment. Recollect that no scheme is worth having unless it be supported by efficient guarantees entirely outside the promises of the Turkish Government. (Applause.) There is another word which I must speak, and it is this: Don't be too much afraid if you hear introduced into this discussion a word that I admit, in ordinary cases, ought to be excluded from all diplomatic proceeding, namely, the word coercion. Coercion is a word perfectly well understood in Constantinople, and it is a word highly appreciated in Constantinople. It is a drastic dose—(laughter)—which never fails of its aim when it is administered in that quarter. (Laughter.) Gentlemen, I would not use these words if I had not myself personally had large and close experience of the proceedings of the Turkish Government. I say, first make your case good, and when your case is made good, determine that it shall prevail. (Cheers.) Grammar has something to do with this case. Recollect that while the word "ought" sounded in Constantinople, passes in thin air, and has no force or solidity whatever attaching to it; on the contrary, the brother or

sister monosyllable, the word "must" is perfectly understood—(cheers)—and it is a known fact supported by positive experience, which can be verified upon the map of Europe, that a timely and judicious use of this word never fails for its effect. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, I must point out to you that we have reached a very critical position indeed. How are three great Governments in Europe, ruling a population of more than two hundred million souls, with perhaps eight or ten times the population of Turkey, with twenty times the wealth of Turkey, with fifty times the influence and power of Turkey, who have committed themselves in this matter before the world, I put it to you that if they recede before an irrational resistance—and remember that I have in the first instance postulated that our demands should be reasonable—if they recede before the irrational resistance of the Sultan and the Ottoman Government they are disgraced in the face of the world. Every motive of duty coincides with every motive of self-respect, and, my lord duke, you yourself let drop a word which is a frightful word, unhappily not wholly out of place, the word

"EXTERMINATION."

There has gone abroad, I don't say that I feel myself competent to judge the matter, I don't think I do, but there has gone abroad and there is widely entertained a belief that the recent proceedings of the Turkish Government in Armenia particularly, but not in Armenia exclusively, are founded upon deliberate determination to exterminate the Christians in that Empire. I hope it is not true, but at the same time I must say that there are evidences tending to support it—(hear, hear)—and the grand evidence which tends to support it is this: the perfect infatuation of the Turkish Government. Now, in my time there have been periods when Turkey was ruled by men of honesty and ability. I will say that until about thirty years ago you could trust the word of the Turkish Government as well as any Government in Europe, you might not approve of their proceedings, but you could trust their word; but a

kind of judicial infatuation appears to have come down upon them. What has happened in Turkey? To hear of this vaunting on the part of its Government, and this game of brag that is from time to time being played, that it cannot compromise its dignity, it cannot waive any of its rights. What would come of its rights in one third part of its empire? Within my lifetime Turkey has been reduced by one-third part of her territory, and sixteen or eighteen millions of people inhabiting some of the most beautiful and formerly most famous countries in the world who were under the Ottoman rule are now as free as we are. (Cheers.) The Ottoman Government are as well aware of that as we, and yet we find it pursuing these insane courses. On the other hand, my lord duke most judiciously referred to the plan of Government that was introduced in the Lebanon about 1861, whereby a reasonable share of stability to local institutions and popular control has been given in Turkey, and the results have been most satisfactory. There is also a part of the country, although not a very large part, where something like local self-government is permitted, and it has been very hopeful in its character. But when we see these things—on the one hand that these experiments in a sense of justice have all succeeded and that when adapted to the Greeks and the Bulgarians and four of five other States have resulted in the loss of those States, then I say that the Turkish Government is evidently in such a state of infatuation that it is vain to believe it may, under certain circumstances, be infatuated enough to scheme the extermination of the Christian population. Well, this is a sad and terrible story, and I have been a very long time in telling it, but a very small part of it, but I hope that, having heard the terms of the resolution that will be submitted to you, you will agree that a case is made out. (Cheers.) I for one, for the sake of avoiding other complications, would rejoice if the Government of Turkey would come to its senses. If only men like Friad Pacha and Ali Pacha who were in the Government of Turkey after the Crimean War, could be raised from the dead and could inspire the

Turkish policy with their spirit and with their principles! That is, in my opinion, what we ought all to desire, and thought it would be more agreeable to clear Turkey than to find her guilty of these terrible charges, yet if we have the smallest regard to humanity, if we are sensible at all of what is due to our own honour after the steps which have been taken within the last twelve or eighteen months, we must interfere. We must be careful to demand no more than what is just—but at least as much as is necessary—and we must be determined that, with the help of God that which is necessary, and that which is just shall be done, whether there will be a response or whether there be none. (Loud cheers.)

THE CONDITION OF ARMENIA.

BY E. J. DILLON.

From *The Contemporary Review* (London), August, 1895.

A PRETTY story is told of a little girl, who, fearing to lie in bed in the dark, begged her mother not to take the candle away until sleep should render it needless. "What are you afraid of, darling?" asked the strong-minded parent. "Of darkness," was the reply. "But remember, dear, that God is here in the room with you, and God is light itself. He will stay with you all night to keep you company." The silence that followed this dogmatic announcement seemed to show that the intended effect had been produced, until it was softly broken by the sweet voice of the child: "Then please, mamma, take God away and leave the candle."

The attitude of the Armenian population in Turkey towards the humane peoples of Western Europe who, to fiendish tortures and bloody massacres, hopefully oppose well-timed expressions of righteous indignation and moral sympathy, offers considerable analogy to the frame of mind of that untutored child. "We can dispense with your sympathy and pity if only you guar-

antee us security for life and property." So reasons the grateful Armenian. The impartial outsider, acquainted with the horrible condition of country and people, would naturally go a step further, and fearlessly affirm that the expression of sympathy at public meetings, followed, as in England, by supine inactivity, is not merely inferior to effective material aid, but is positively disastrous. Formerly the Turks disliked the Armenians, and the blood-bath of Sassoun offers a fair indication of the vehemence of their feeling. At present, after the wanton humiliation inflicted upon them by the European friends of their victims, they loathe the very name of Armenia, and deem no cruelties sufficient to satisfy their outraged self-love. The Vali (Governor-General) of Erzeroum, when the foreign consuls of that city lately brought an unusually crying case of injustice to his notice, told the Dragomans that the Turkish Government and Armenian people stood to each other in the relation of husband and wife, and that outsiders who felt pity for the wife when her husband maltreated her, would do wisely and well to abstain from interfering. And the remark is quite true, *if the pair are to go on living together*; for the brutal husband can always choose his own time and place to vent his feelings on his helpless mate. And this is what is being actually done in Turkish Armenia. Under the eyes of the Russian, English, and French delegates at Moush, the witnesses who had the courage to speak the truth to the representatives of the Powers were thrown into prison, and not a hand was raised to protect them; and at the present moment, within a stone's throw of the foreign consuls and missionaries, loyal Armenians are being hung up by the heels, the hair of their heads and beards plucked out one by one, their bodies branded with red-hot irons and defiled in beastly ways that can neither be described nor hinted at in England, their wives dishonoured in their presence, and their daughters raped before their eyes. And all that the philanthropic English nation has to offer these its *protégés*, is eloquent indignation and barren sympathy. Would it not have been much more

benevolent to hush up the massacre of Sassoun and ignore the Pits of Death than to irritate the Turk to the point of madness and then leave him free to vent his fury upon Christians who are shielded only by our sentimental eloquence?

And yet the duty of this country is simplicity itself; we should either put a speedy end to the horrors of Turkish Dahomey or publicly proclaim our inability to fulfil our obligations in Armenia, at the same time repudiating our gigantic engagement to maintain the integrity of the Turkish Empire in Asia. For as it was a grievous blunder to raise this Armenian Question last winter without having first made sure that we could work it out to a satisfactory issue, it is little less than a crime to give the Turks the needful time to carry out their nefarious plans by our obstinate refusal to look the facts in the face.

Those who are familiar with the condition of the five provinces and their Christian inhabitants will unhesitatingly acquiesce in this view of the subject; for those who are not, the following brief sketch may prove instructive.

Turkey's real sway in Armenia dates from the year 1847, when Osman Pasha gave the final *coup de grâce* to the secular power of the Koordish Derebeks in the five south-eastern provinces (Van, Bitlis, Moush, Bayazed, and Diarbekir). During that long spell of nearly fifty years, we can clearly distinguish two periods: one of shameful misgovernment (1847-1891), and the other (1892-1894) of frank extermination. Suasion or remonstrance may do much to remedy the abuses that flow from the former system; force alone can achieve anything against the latter. And in this sense Lord Salisbury's recently expressed view of the matter is absolutely correct.

In the year 1891 the Sublime Porte fearing serious dangers from the promised introduction of reforms into Armenia, and from the anticipated hostility in war time of the Christians living in provinces bordering upon Russia, resolved to kill two birds with one stone, and created the so-called Hamidieh cavalry, composed

exclusively of Koords. It was an application of the principle, on which rebels and rioters throw open the prison doors and invite convicts to rob and kill the members of the upper classes. The plan as propounded by some of the highest officials of the Empire was that the Armenians were to be driven out of the border lands, such as Alashkerd, their places to be taken by Mohammedans, that their numbers in all the five provinces were to be so considerably reduced that the need of special reforms for them should pass away, and that in case of war the Koords should act as a counterweight to the Cossacks.

This plain policy of extermination has been faithfully carried out and considerably extended from that day to this, and unless speedily arrested, will undoubtedly lead to a final solution of the Armenian problem. But a solution which will disgrace Christianity and laugh civilization to scorn. The enlisted Koords were left in their native places, exempted from service, supplied with arms, invested with the inviolability of ambassadors, and paid with the regularity characteristic of the Sublime Porte. And they fulfilled their mission with scrupulous exactness: robbing rich Armenians, looting houses, burning corn and hay, raiding villages, lifting cattle, raping young girls of tender age, dishonouring married women, driving away entire populations, and killing all who were manly or mad enough to attempt to resist. Armenians are now among the poorest and most wretched people on the globe.

Perhaps the Turkish authorities did not foresee, nor Turkish justice approve, these results? The authorities not only expected them, but aided and abetted, incited and rewarded those who actually committed them; and whenever an Armenian dared to complain, not only was he not listened to by the officials whom he paid to protect him, but he was thrown into a fetid prison and tortured and outraged in strange and horrible ways for his presumption and insolence.

The massacre of Sassoun itself is now proved to have been the deliberate deed of the representatives of the Sublime Porte, carefully planned and unflinchingly

executed in spite of the squeamishness of Koordish brigands and the fitful gleams of human nature that occasionally made themselves felt in the hearts even of Turkish soldiers.

To complain, therefore, of the insecurity of life and property in Armenia, so long as the country is irresponsibly governed by the Sublime Porte, is as reasonable as it would be for a soldier to object to the great danger to life and limb from the enemy's bullets during a sanguinary engagement. The result complained of is precisely the object aimed at, and its completeness the most conclusive proof of the efficiency of the means employed. An eminent foreign statesman who is commonly credited with Turcophile sentiments of uncompromising thoroughness, lately remarked to me in private conversation that Turkish rule in Armenia might be aptly described as organized brigandage, legalized murder, and meritorious immorality. Protests against such a system may be right and proper, but they can hardly be considered profitable. A philanthropist visiting a prison may feel shocked when he discovers one of the convicts with his hands and feet tied with cords; but he will scarcely spend time in complaining if he learns that the prisoner has been condemned to death, and is about to be hanged by the executioner.

The first step in carrying out the Plan of Extermination was the systematic impoverishment of the people. This is natural in a country whose officials are kept waiting eight or ten months for their salaries, and must then content themselves with but a fraction of what is due. "I have not received a para* for the past twenty weeks, and I cannot buy even clothes," exclaimed the official who was told off to "shadow" me day and night in Erzeroum. "Do they pay you your salary regularly?" I inquired of the head of the telegraph office at Kutek. "No, Effendi, not regularly," he replied; "I have not had anything now for fully eight months. Oh yes, I have; a month's salary was given to me at Bairam."† "How do you man-

* A Turkish coin. Forty paras are equivalent to twopence.

† Bairam is the festival which follows the long fast of Ramazan.

age to live, then?" "Poorly." "But you must have some money to go on with, or else you could not keep body and soul together?" "I have a little, of course, but not enough. Allah is good. You have now given me some money yourself." "Yes, but that is not for you; it is for telegrams, and belongs to the State." "Well, my shadow will have grown considerably less before the State beholds the gleam of it. I keep for myself all money paid in by the public. I take it as instalments of my salary. It does not amount to very much. But whatever it happens to be, I pocket it." These men are, of course, petty officials, but their case is not essentially different from that of the majority of their betters, and judges, officers, deputy-governors, and valis, etc., are to the full as impecunious and incomparably more greedy.

Tahsin Pasha, the late Governor-General of Bitlis, is a fair specimen of the high Turkish dignitary of the epoch of extermination. An avaricious skinflint, he was as cruel as Ugolino's enemy, Ruggieri, and as cold as Captain Maleger in Spenser's "Faëry Queen." He cultivated a habit of imprisoning scores of wealthy Armenians, without any imputed charge or show of pretext. Liberty was then offered them in return for exorbitant sums representing the greater part of their substance. Refusal to pay was followed by treatment compared with which the torture of the Jews in mediæval England, or the agonies of the eunuchs of the princesses of Oude in modern India were mild and salutary chastisements. Some men were kept standing up all day and night, forbidden to eat, drink, or move. If they lost strength and consciousness, cold water or hot irons soon brought them round, and the work of coercion continued. Time and perseverance being on the side of the Turks, the Armenians generally ended by sacrificing everything that made life valuable, for the sake of exemption from maddening pain. It was a case of sacrificing or being sacrificed, and that which seemed the lesser of the two evils was invariably chosen.

In the Vilayet of Bitlis several hundred Armenians

who possessed money, cattle or crops, were arbitrarily imprisoned and set free on the payment of large bribes. Some of them, unable to produce the money at once, were kept in the noisome dungeons until they raised the sum demanded, or were released by death. About one hundred Armenian prisoners died in the prison of Bitlis alone. The following petition signed and sent to me—and if I mistake not, also to the foreign delegates at Moush—from a well-known man whose name and address I publish, will help to convey some idea of how the Vali of Bitlis governed his province, and prospered the while: "We, who have served the Turkish Government with absolute loyalty, are maltreated and oppressed, more particularly of late years, now by the Government itself, now by Koordish brigands. Thus last year (1894) I was suddenly arrested at my own house by Turkish police and gendarmes, who escorted me to the prison of Bitlis, where I was insulted and subjected to the most horrible tortures. Having been kept four months there, I was released on condition of paying £450, by way of ransom. No reason, no pretext has been given for this treatment. On my return home, I found my house in disorder, my affairs ruined, my means gone. My first thought was to appeal to the Turkish Government for redress, but I shrank from doing so, lest I should be condemned again. Hearing that you have come to Armenia for the purpose of investigating the condition of the people, I venture to request you, in God's name, to take notice of the facts of my case. Signed, Boghos Darmanian, of the village of Iknakhodja of the Kaza of Manazkerd."

In 1890, the village elder of Odandjor in Boolanyk, Abdal by name, was a wealthy man, as wealth goes in that part of the world. He possessed 50 buffaloes, 80 oxen, 600 sheep, besides horses, etc. The women of his family wore golden ornaments in their hair and on their breast, and he paid £50 a year in taxes to the treasury. That was in 1890. In 1894 he was a poverty-stricken peasant, familiar with misery and apprehensive of death from hunger. His village and those of the entire dis-

trict had been plundered, and the inhabitants stripped, so to say, naked, the Turkish authorities smiling approval the while. During the year 1894, in the districts of Boolanyk and Moush alone, upwards of ten thousand head of cattle and sheep were driven off by the Koords.

This was the method in vogue all over the country; the details varied according to the condition of things, places, and kinglets, but the means and end never varied. The result is the utter disappearance of wealth and the rapid spread of misery, so intense, so irremediable, so utterly loathsome in its moral and physical effects as to have inspired some of its victims with that wild courage akin to madness which always takes its rise in despair.*

Between the Vali or Governor-General and the Zaptieh or tax-gatherer the rungs of the administrative ladder are many, and to each and all of them some portion of the substance of industrious Armenians adheres. No doubt there are far worse things than the loss of one's property, and unemotional Englishmen would rather save their sympathy for those who have endured them. But surely even that is bad enough when the outcome not of crime, accident, or carelessness, but of shameless and defiant injustice, and where the loser has a family of some fifteen to twenty persons. And that the loss of property very often entailed far greater losses will be evident from some of the following facts.

In July, 1892, a captain of his Majesty's Hamidieh Cavalry, Idris by name, an ornament of the Hassnanlee tribe, came with his brother to demand a contribution of fodder from the inhabitants of Hamsisheikh. They accosted two of the Armenian notables, Alo and Hatchadoor, and ordered them to provide the hay required. "We do not possess such a quantity in the whole village," they replied. "Produce the hay with-

* I have published elsewhere a comparison between the prosperity of Armenians who lived in the epoch of misgovernment and the indigence of those who languish in the present era of extermination, but this interesting subject has never been exhaustively treated.

out more ado, or I'll shoot you dead," exclaimed Idris. "But it does not exist, and we cannot create it." "Then die," said the gallant captain, and shot them dead on the spot. A formal complaint was lodged against Idris, and the Kaimakam, to his credit, arrested him and kept him in prison for four weeks, when the valiant Koord having paid the usual bribe was set at liberty. About thirty similar murders were committed in the same district of Boolanyk during that season, with the same publicity and the same impunity.

At first the Armenians were wont to complain when their relatives or friends were killed, in the hope that in some cases the arm of the law might be raised to punish the murderers and thus produce a deterrent effect upon others who might feel disposed to go and do likewise. But they were very soon weaned of this habit, by methods the nature of which may be gathered from the following incident: In July, 1892, a Koord named Ahmed Ogloo Batal rode over to Govandook (District of Khnouss) and drove off four oxen belonging to an Armenian named Mookho. In 1892 the law forbidding Christians to carry arms was not yet strictly observed, and Mookho possessing a revolver, and seeing that the Koord was about to use his, fired. Both weapons went off at once and both men fell dead on the spot. What then happened was this: Nineteen Armenians of the village, none of whom had any knowledge of what had occurred, were arrested and put in jail and told that they would be released on payment of a heavy bribe. Ten paid it and were set free at once. The remainder, refusing, were kept in prison for a long time afterwards. None of the Koords were molested. "Why should Mohammedans be punished for killing Armenians?" asked a Koordish brigand who was also a Hamidieh officer, of me. "It is unheard of." Why indeed? That the relatives of the murdered people should be punished and punished severely for complaining of those who have made them widows or orphans seems meet and proper to the Mohammedan mind—perhaps because it is usual.

In August, 1893, the Djibranlee Koords attacked the village of Kaghkik, plundered it, and wounded a merchant named Oannes, who was engaged in business in his shop. Next day Oannes went to the Deputy Governor (Kaimakam) in Khnoussaberd and lodged a complaint, whereupon the Kaimakam put him in prison for "lying." The sufferings inflicted upon him in that hotbed of typhoid fever exceeded belief—but that is another story. After eight days his neighbours brought a Koord before the Kaimakam who bore out their evidence that Oannes had been really wounded in the manner described, and that he was not lying. Then, and then only, the authorities *allowed the people* to pay a bribe of ten pounds for the release of the wounded man.

The inhabitants of Krtaboz (a village in Bassen) told me several horrible stories of what they had to endure lately from the Koords, who drove off their twenty-three oxen, twenty-eight horses, sixty cows, and twenty sheep. One which illustrates the method of *Turkish* justice will suffice to give the reader an inkling of their nature. "Last May (1894) twelve mounted Hamidieh's attacked our village and seized our priest, Der David. They promised to release him if he paid them six pounds. He borrowed the sum, gave it to his captors, and was set free. The troops fired upon the other villagers, who ran away. Next day Guil Beg went to Hassankaleh to complain to the authorities. They abused him, called him a liar, and ordered him to be imprisoned. After having spent forty days in the horrible hole called a prison, he was permitted to pay a bribe of seven pounds and go home."

There is no redress whatever for a Christian who has suffered in property, limb, or life at the hands of Mohammedans; not because the law officers are careless or lethargic, but because they are specially retained on the other side. And the proof of this, if any proof were needed, is that the complainants themselves are speedily punished for lodging an information against their persecutors. But whenever a Koord or a Turk is the victim of a "crime," or even an accident, the

energy of the Government officials knows no bounds. In the spring of last year, when the snows were thawing and the waters rose high in the rivers and streams, some needy Koords were moving along the bank of the river, hard by Hussnaker. They were wretched beggars, asking alms, and battling with fate. In an attempt to ford the river they were carried away and drowned. Forthwith the villagers were accused of having murdered them, and four Armenian notables were arrested and imprisoned in Hassankaleh on this trumped-up charge, the real object of which was not disguised. After the lapse of seven or eight months the villagers were told that on payment of a bribe of £75 the prisoners would be discharged. The money had to be scraped together and paid to the authorities, whereupon the men were released. I saw two of them, Atam and Dono, myself.

The taxes levied upon Armenians are exorbitant; the bribes that invariably accompany them, and are imposed by the Zaptiehs, may swell to any proportions, and resume the most repugnant forms, while the methods employed to collect both constitute by themselves a sufficient justification for the sweeping away of Ottoman rule in Armenia.

To give a fair instance of the different rates of taxation for Christians and Mohammedans in towns it will suffice to point out that in Erzeroum, where there are 8,000 Mohammedan houses, the Moslems pay only 395,000 piastres, whereas the Christians, whose houses number but 2,000, pay 430,000 piastres.

In the country districts everything, without exception, is highly taxed by the Government, and the heaviest burden of this legal exaction is light when compared with the extortion practiced by its agents, the Zaptiehs. A family, for instance, is supposed to contribute, say, £5, and fulfils its obligation. The Zaptiehs, however, ask for £3 or £4 more for themselves, and are met with a rash refusal. Negotiations, interlarded with violent and abusive language, ensue, and £1 is accepted. But the Zaptiehs' blood is up. In a week they return and demand the same taxes over

again. The Armenians wax angry, protest and present their receipt ; whereat the Zaptiehs laughingly explain that the document in question is no receipt but a few verses from a Turkish book. The villagers plead poverty and implore mercy. Greed, not compassion, moves the Zaptiehs to compromise the matter for £3 more, but the money is not forthcoming. Then they demand the surrender of the young women and girls of the family to glut their brutal appetites, and refusal is punished with a series of tortures over which decency and humanity throw a veil of silence. Rape, and every kind of brutal outrage conceivable to the diseased mind of Oriental profligates, and incredible to the average European intelligence, varied perhaps with murder or arson, wind up the incident.

I have seen and spoken with victims of these representatives of the Sublime Porte ; I have inspected their wounds, questioned their families, interrogated their priests, their persecutors, and their gaolers (some of them being incarcerated for complaining), and I unhesitatingly affirm, not merely that these horrors are real facts, but that they are frequent occurrences. The following is the translation of an authentic document in my possession, signed and sealed by the inhabitants of Melikan (Kaza of Keghi), addressed as recently as March 26th of the present year to his Beatitude, the learned and saintly Metropolitan Archbishop of Erzeroum, a dignitary who enjoys the respect and esteem of friends and foes :

" For a long time past the four or five Zaptiehs charged with the collection of the imperial taxes have chosen our village for their headquarters, and compel the inhabitants of the outlying country to come hither to pay their contributions. They eat, drink, and feed their horses at our expense, undisguisedly showing that they are resolved to reduce us to beggary.

" Lately seven other Zaptiehs, who had not even the pretext of collecting the taxes, entered our village, beat the inhabitants, insulted the Christian religion, and dishonoured our wives and daughters, after which

they seized three men who protested—Boghos, Mardig, and Krikor—bound them with a twofold chain, and hung them up by the feet from the rafters. They left them in this position until the blood began to flow from their nostrils. These poor men fell ill in consequence. The Zaptiehs, however, declared publicly that they had treated the people thus merely in obedience to the special orders of the chief of the police.

"We therefore appeal to imperial justice to rescue us from this unbearable position. The inhabitants of the village of Melikan, Kaza of Keghi.

(Signed) KATSHERE.

"26th March, 1895."

Here is another petition from another village of the same Kaza, likewise addressed to the Metropolitan Archbishop of Erzeroum :

"A number of Zaptiehs, on pretext of gathering the taxes, rode into our village at five o'clock Turkish (about 10 o'clock A.M.) broke open the doors of our dwellings, entered the inner apartments, clutched our wives and children, who were in a state of semi-nudity, and cast them into the road along with the couches on which they lay. Then they beat and maltreated them most cruelly. Finally they selected over thirty of our women, shut them up in a barn, and wrought their criminal will upon them. Before leaving they took all the food and fodder we possessed, as is their invariable custom. We beg to draw your attention to these facts, and to implore the imperial clemency. The inhabitants of the village of Arek, Kaza of Keghi.

(Signed)

MOORADIAN, RESSIAN, BERGHOYAN, MELKONIAN.

"26th March, 1895."

I was present myself in the house of an Armenian peasant, of the village of Kipri Kieu, when a number of mounted Zaptiehs arrived, woke up the inmates, and insolently demanded food for themselves, barley for their horses, and couches for the night. What more

they would have called for I am not prepared to say, but I extricated my host from the difficulty by refusing them admittance on the ground that I had hired the house for the night. No wonder that the peasants of the District of Khnouss complain, in the petition which they asked me to lay before "the noble and humane people of England," "That the once prosperous and fertile country is now deserted, waste and desolate."

These, then, are the horrors which are connoted by the phrase so flippantly uttered by certain enlightened English people: "These Armenians and Koords are eternally quarrelling, and a little bloodshed more or less would not seem seriously to affect the general average." It is true enough in the sense in which it is correct to say that sheep and wolves are perpetually at war with each other, and in this sense only. The Armenians are naturally peaceful in all places: passionately devoted to agriculture in the country, and wholly absorbed by mercantile pursuits in the towns. Lest their inborn aversion to bloodshed, however, should be overcome by the impulse of duty, the instinct of self-defense, or deep-rooted affection for those near and dear to them, they are forbidden to possess arms, and the tortures that are inflicted on the few who disregard this law would bring a blush to the cheek of a countryman of Confucius.* They must rely for protection exclusively upon the Turkish soldiers and the Turkish law.

The nature of the protection afforded by the Imperial troops was sufficiently clearly revealed last August and September on the Slopes of Frfrkar and the heights of Andok, in the hamlets of Dalvorik and in the valley of Ghellyegoozan. The villages of Odandjor, Hamzasheikh, Kakarloov Kharagyul, flourishing and prosperous in 1890-1891, did not contain one sheep, one buffalo,

* Khozro, a well-to-do inhabitant of Prkhooss, near Lake Nazig (District of Akhlat), was a lucky exception. True, he did not exactly possess a gun, but he was suspected of having one. His house was searched, the floor dug up, the roof examined, in vain. Then he was imprisoned for a month and allowed to purchase his liberty by paying £70 in gold and signing a paper to the effect that he never had firearms of any kind.

one horse in 1894. The stables were all tenantless, the stalls all empty, and the ashes of seventy enormous stacks of corn told the rest of the tale. This was the congenial work of the Koords, whose friends, the Turkish troops, were quartered, to the number of 200 horse soldiers in Yondjalee, half an hour distant from Odandjor, 200 in Kop, and 100 in Shekagoob. The protection which they afforded was given to the Koords, and the reward they received was a share in the spoils.

The protection given by Turkish law is of a like nature, only incomparably more disastrous to those Armenians who venture to have recourse to it. Two or three instances, vouched for by a host of witnesses, verified by foreign consuls, and authenticated by official documents, will throw light enough for all practical purposes upon the strange forms assumed by Turkish justice in the provinces of Armenia.

Kevork Vartanian, of the village of Mankassar (Sandjak of Alashkerd), testified, among other things, as follows: "In 1892, a Koord, Andon by name, son of Kerevash (of the tribe of Tshalal), came with his comrades to my house and took five pounds in gold belonging to me, which I had saved up to buy seed corn with. I lodged a complaint against him, but the authorities dismissed me with contempt. Andon, hearing of my attempt to have him punished, came one night with twelve men, stood on our roof, and looking down through the aperture fired. My daughter-in-law, Yezeko, struck by a bullet, fell dead. Her two boys and my child Missak (two years old) likewise lost their lives then and there. Then the Koords entered the apartments and took my furniture, clothing, four oxen and four cows.* I hastened to the village of Karakilis and complained to Rahim Pasha. Having heard my story, he said: 'The Hamadie Koords are the Sultan's warriors. To do thus is their right. You Armenians are liars.' *And we were imprisoned. We*

* Cows, horses, etc., are frequently lodged in the apartment in which the inmates live and sleep. I have passed many a restless night in a spacious room along with horses, buffaloes, oxen, sheep and goats.

did not obtain our release until we had paid two pounds in gold.

"The following winter two hundred soldiers entered our village under the leadership of Rahim Pasha himself. He at once told us that it was illegal to complain of the doings of the Koords. Then he quartered himself and his troops upon us and demanded daily eight sheep, ten measures of barley, besides eggs, poultry, and butter. Forty days running our village supplied these articles of food gratis, receiving curses and blows for our pains. Rahim Pasha, angry with his host, Pare, for grumbling, had a copper vessel hung over the fire, and, when heated, ordered it to be placed on Pare's head. Then he had him stripped naked and little bits of flesh nipped out of his quivering arms with pincers.

"These ruffians had scarcely quitted our village when Aipé Pasha with sixty horsemen took their places. Seeing that there were no more sheep to be had in the village, they slaughtered and ate our cows and oxen, and having inflicted much suffering upon us during six days, they too left. To whom could we address our complaints, seeing that the legally constituted authorities themselves perpetrated these things? Nothing was left for us but to quit the country, which we did."

In the month of June, 1890, the village of Alidjikrek was the scene of a double crime. The Armenian shepherds who were tending the flocks of the villagers rushed in excitedly asking for help. "The Koords of Ibil Ogloo Ibrahim came up with their sheep and drove us out of the village pastures." It was one of the commonplaces of village life in Turkish Armenia. Four young men set out to reason with the Moslems and assert the rights of property; but scarcely had they reached the ground, when the Koords opened fire and killed one of the youths, named Hossep, on the spot. Another fell mortally wounded; his name, Haroothioon. Their comrades fled in horror to the village; the people, dismayed, abandoned their work; the parish priest and several of the principal inhabitants ran

to the scene of the murder, others rode off to inform the gendarmes.

The Zaptiehs (gendarmes), accompanied by an official, were soon on the spot. They found Hossep dead, and the parish priest, Der Ohannes, administering the last consolations of religion to the dying Haroothoon. They ordered the prayers to cease and menacingly asked, "Where are the Koordish murderers?" "They have fled," was the reply. "Indeed; probably you, dogs, have killed them, and buried them out of sight. You are all my prisoners." (Turning to the priest.) "You, too, come!" And they were all taken to Has-sankaleh and thrown into the loathsome dungeon there. After a time they were transferred to the prison of Erzeroum.

The parish priest, Der Ohannes, was a well-to-do man. The process of systematic impoverishment was then only beginning. His brother, Garabed, and their ten comrades in misfortune, were likewise men of substance, and it seemed desirable to the officials that their property should change hands. They were left, therefore, to soak in the fetid vapours of a reeking Eastern prison-house. The time dragged slowly on, day by day, week by week, and month by month, till they seemed to have been completely forgotten. Their families were in an endless agony of fear, their affairs were utterly neglected, their health was wholly undermined. In this pandemonium they passed a year—the most horrible period of their lives.

Then they humbly besought their persecutors to help them to their liberty and to name the price. The terms were agreed to, and they were advised to send Koords to hunt up traces of the Koordish murderers whom they were accused of having murdered in turn. "If they be found you will be set free." The cost of this advice and of the ways and means of carrying it out amounted to about £400, which the prisoners were compelled to borrow at 40 per cent. interest.

The search was of course successful, Koordish and Turkish assassins, when their victims are Christians, having no need to hide their persons, no motive to

hang their heads. What they do is well done. These particular heroes were found enrolled in a battalion of his Majesty's favourite cavalry—the Hamidieh of Alashkerd. They confessed and did not deny ; a cloud of witnesses—Turks and Koords of course, Christians being disqualified—testified in court in favour of the twelve Armenian prisoners, who were then set at liberty, with ruined fortunes and broken health. The sentence of the court set forth that the Armenians, charged with the crime of having killed certain Koords who had assassinated two Armenian villagers, had proved their innocence, the Koords in question having been discovered living and well, serving the Commander of the Faithful in the Hamidieh Corps.

The Koordish murderers, about whose precious lives so much fuss was made, were left in peace, and they still continue to serve his Majesty the Sultan with the same zeal and contempt of consequences as before.

A dog will bark if another dog be shot in its presence. These Armenians did not even grumble ; they simply called in the representatives of Imperial law and justice, who proceeded to deal with them as with murderers. But Christians in Armenia dare not aspire to be treated with the consideration shown to obedient dogs by good-natured masters.

The stories told of these Koordish Hamidieh officers in general, and of one of them, named Mostigo, in particular, seemed so wildly improbable, that I was at great pains to verify them. Learning that this particular *Fra Diavolo* had been arrested and was carefully guarded as a dangerous criminal in the prison of Erzeroum, where he would probably be hanged, I determined to obtain, if possible, an interview with him, and learn the truth from his own lips. My first attempt ended in failure ; Mostigo being a desperate murderer, who had once before escaped from jail was, subjected to special restrictions, and if I had carried out my original plan of visiting him in disguise, the probability is that I should not have returned alive. After about three weeks' tedious and roundabout negotiations, I succeeded in gaining the gaoler's ear, hav-

ing first replenished his purse. I next won over the brigand himself, and the upshot of my endeavors was an arrangement that Mostigo was to be allowed to leave the prison secretly, and at night, to spend six hours in my room, and then to be re-conducted to his dungeon.

When the appointed day arrived the gaoler repudiated his part of the contract, on the ground that Mostigo, aware that his life was forfeited, would probably give the prison a wide berth if allowed to leave its precincts. After some further negotiations, however, I agreed to give two hostages for his return, one of them a brother Koord, whose life the brigand's notions of honour would not allow him to sacrifice for the chance of saving his own. At last he came to me one evening, walking over the roofs, lest the police permanently stationed at my door should espy him. I kept him all night, showed him to two of the most respectable Europeans in Erzeroum, and, lest any doubt should be thrown on my story, had myself photographed with him next morning.

The tale unfolded by that Koordish noble constitutes a most admirable commentary upon Turkish *régime* in Armenia. This is not the place to give it in full. One or two short extracts must suffice.

Q. "Now, Mostigo, I desire to hear from your own lips and to write down some of your wonderful deeds. I want to make them known to the 'hat-wearers.' " *

A. "Even so. Announce them to the Twelve Powers." †

There were evidently no misgivings about moral consequences; no fears of judicial punishment. And yet retribution was at hand; Mostigo was said to be doomed to death. Desirous of clearing up this point, I went on:

Q. "I am sorry to find that you are living in prison. Have you been long there?"

A. "I, too, am sorry. Five months, but it seems an age."

* The Koords call all Europeans hat-wearers, and generally regard them with respect and awe.

† *I.e.*, to the whole universe.

Q. "These Armenians are to blame, I suppose?"

A. "Yes."

Q. "You wiped out too many of them, carried off their women, burned their villages, and made it generally hot for them, I am told."

A. (scornfully). "That has nothing to do with my imprisonment. I shall not be punished for plundering Armenians. We all do that. I seldom killed, except when they resisted. But the Armenians betrayed me and I was caught. That's what I mean. But if I be hanged it will be for attacking and robbing the Turkish post and violating the wife of a Turkish Colonel who is now here in Erzeroum. But not for Armenians! Who are they that I should suffer for them?"

After he had narrated several adventures of his, in the course of which he dishonored Christian women, killed Armenian villagers, robbed the post and escaped from prison, he went on to say :

"We did great deeds after that : deeds that would astonish the Twelve Powers to hear told. We attacked villages, killed people who would have killed us, gutted houses, taking money, carpets, sheep and women, and robbed travellers. . . . Daring and great were our deeds, and the mouths of men were full of them."

Having heard the story of many of these "great deeds," in some of which fifty persons met their death, I asked :

Q. "Do the Armenians ever offer you resistance when you take their cattle and their women?"

A. "Not often. They cannot. They have no arms, and they know that even if they could kill a few of us it would do them no good, for other Koords would come and take vengeance ; but when we kill them no one's eyes grow large with rage. The Turks hate them, and we do not. We only want money and spoil, and some Koords also want their lands, but the Turks want their lives. A few months ago I attacked the Armenian village of Kara Kipriu and drove off all the sheep in the place. I did not leave one behind. The villagers, in despair, did follow us that time and fire some shots at us, but it was nothing to speak of. We

drove the sheep towards Erzeroum to sell them there. But on the way we had a fight near the Armenian village of Sheme. The peasants knew we had lifted the sheep from their own people, and they attacked us. We were only five Koords and they were many—the whole village was up against us. Two of my men—*rayahs** only—were killed. We killed fifteen Armenians. They succeeded in capturing forty of the sheep. The remainder we held and sold in Erzeroum."

Q. "Did you kill many Armenians generally?"

A. "Yes. We did not wish to do so. We only want booty, not lives. Lives are of no use to us. But we had to drive bullets through people at times to keep them quiet; that is, if they resisted."

Q. "Did you often use your daggers?"

A. "No; generally our rifles. We must live. In autumn we manage to get as much corn as we need for the winter, and money besides. We have cattle, but we take no care of it. *We give it to the Armenians to look after and feed.*"

Q. "But if they refuse?"

A. "Well, we burn their hay, their corn, their houses, and we drive off their sheep, so they do not refuse. We take back our cattle in spring, and the Armenians must return the same number that they received."

Q. "But if the cattle disease should carry them off?"

A. "That is the *Armenians'* affair. They must return us what we gave them, or an equal number. And they know it. We cannot bear the loss. Why should not they? Nearly all our sheep come from them."

After having listened to scores of stories of his expeditions, murders, rapes, etc., I again asked: "Can you tell me some more of your daring deeds, Mostigo, for the ears of the Twelve Powers?" to which I received this characteristic reply:

* The Koords are divided into *Torens* or nobles, who lead in war time, and possess and enjoy in peace; and *Rayahs*, who sacrifice their lives for their lords in all raids and feuds, and are wholly dependent on them at all times. A *rayah's* life may be taken by a *toren* with almost the same impunity as a Christian's.

"Once the wolf was asked : Tell us something about the sheep you devoured ? and he said : I ate thousands of sheep, which of them are you talking about ? Even so it is with my deeds. If I spoke and you wrote for two days, much would still remain untold."

This brigand is a Koord, and the name of the Koords is legion. *Ex uno disce omnes*. And yet the Koords have shown themselves to be the most humane of all the persecutors of the Armenians. Needing money, this man robbed ; desirous of pleasure he dishonored women and girls ; defending his booty, he killed men and women, and during it all he felt absolutely certain of impunity, so long as his victims were Armenians. Is there no law then ? one is tempted to ask. There is, and a very good law for that corner of the globe were it only administered ; for the moment he robbed the Imperial post and dishonored a Turkish woman, he was found worthy of death.

Laws, reforms and constitutions therefore, were they drawn up by the wisest and most experienced legislators and statesmen of the world, will not be worth the paper they are written on so long as the Turks are allowed to administer them without control. The proof is contained in the life and acts of Turkish officials any time during the past fifty years.

Here, for example, is an honorable record of an energetic administrator, his Excellency Hussein Pasha, Brigadier-General of his Majesty the Sultan, which will bear the closest scrutiny. Commanding a gang of Koordish brigands, which could be increased to about 2,000 men, he continually harassed the peaceful inhabitants of the province, plundering, torturing, violating, killing, till his name alone sent a thrill of terror to the hearts of all. The Armenians of Patnotz suffered so much from his depredations that they all quitted their village *en masse* and migrated to Karakilisse, where the Kaimakam resides ; whereupon Hussein surrounded the house of the Bishop of Karakalisse with a large force and compelled him to send the people back. Even the Mohammedans felt so shocked at his doings, that the Mussulman priest of Patnotz, Sheikh Nari,

complained of him to the Vali (Governor-General) of Erzeroum. Hussein then sent his men, who murdered Sheikh Nari and frightened his daughter-in-law to death. In one expedition he carried off 2,600 sheep, many horses, kine, etc., took £500, burnt nine villages, killed ten men, and cut off the right hands, noses and ears of eleven others. Early in the year 1890 he raped five Christian girls of Patnotz, and in September and October of the same year he levied a contribution of £300 on the people of the same district. *For none of these crimes was he ever tried.* In December, 1890, he sent his brother to raise more money, which was done by raiding twenty-one villages of the Aintab District, the net result being £350 and 200 *batmans* of butter (=3,000 lbs.). Hatsho, an Armenian of Patnotz, who could not, or would not, contribute a certain sum to his coffer, had his house raided in his absence, and his wife and two children killed. All this time the gallant Hussein occupied the post and "discharged the duties" of a Mudir or Deputy Sub-Governor. One day he drove off 1,000 sheep and 7 yoke of buffaloes from Patnotz and Kizilkoh and sold them in Erzeroum to a merchant, after which he confiscated a fine horse belonging to Manook, an Armenian of Kizilkoh, and sent it as a present to the son of an Erzeroum judge. One night towards the end of February, 1891, Hussein, his nephew Rassoul, and others, entered the house of an Armenian, Kaspar, for the purpose of carrying off Kaspar's handsome daughter-in-law. The inmates, however, shouted for help, whereupon Hussein, raising his revolver, shot the young woman dead. A petition was presented asking that he be punished, but the Vali of Erzeroum declined to receive it, and Hussein was summoned to Constantinople, welcomed with cordiality, decorated by his Majesty, raised to the rank of Pasha, and appointed Brigadier-General. When the troops went to Moush and Sassoun last year, Hussein was one of the heroes, and when "order" was restored there, he returned to Patnotz with several young Sassounian girls whom he abducted, and he now lives happy and respected. No doubt there are missions

which might be entrusted to a gentleman like Brigadier-General Hussein Pasha and men of his type. But is the government of a Christian people one of them? And if we assume that the then Vali of Erzeroum and the other administrators of the country were men of a much higher moral standard than he, of what avail were their noble character and admirable intentions, seeing that they allowed him to plunder, ravish, burn and kill unchecked? And is it reasonable to blame Hussein Pasha for deeds, after the perpetration of which, he was honored and promoted by the guardian of all law and order, the Commander of the Faithful?

Not all of the officials have the same tastes or the same degree of courage as his Excellency Hussein Pasha. There are others—many others no doubt—who, whatever their private proclivities may be, feel moved by their official sense of the fitness of things to cast about for a pretext for acts for which there could be no conceivable justification. And the follies which they commit in pursuit of this shadow would seem incredible were they not notorious. The following case has been inquired into and verified by the foreign representatives in Turkey. In the spring of 1893 Hassib Pasha, the Governor of Moush, feeling the need of some proofs of the disaffection of the Armenians of Avzoot and the neighboring villages, despatched Police Captain Reshid Effendi thither to search for arms. Reshid set out, made careful inquiries and diligently searched in the houses, on the roofs, under the ground, but in vain. There were no firearms anywhere. He returned and reported that the villagers had strictly observed the law forbidding them to possess weapons of any kind. But Hassib Pasha waxed wroth. "How dare you assert what I know to be untrue?" he asked. "Go back this minute and find the arms. Don't dare return without them!" The Police Captain again rode off to Avzoot and searched every nook and corner with lamps, so to say, turning the houses inside out. But he found nothing. Then he summoned the village Elder and said: "I have been sent to discover the hidden arms here. Tell me where they are." "But

there are none." "There must be some." "I assure you you are mistaken." "Well, now listen. I have to find arms here, whether there are any or none, and I cannot return without them. Unless you deliver me some, I shall quarter myself and my men upon your village." This meant certainly plunder and probably rape. The Elder was dismayed. "What are we to do?" he asked. "We have no arms." "Go and get some then, steal them, buy them, but get them." Two or three persons were accordingly sent to the nearest Koordish village, where they purchased three cart-loads of old daggers, flintlock guns and rusty swords, which were duly handed over to Reshid. With these he returned to the Governor of Moush exulting. Has-sib Pasha, seeing the collection, rejoiced exceedingly and said: "You see now, I was right. I told you there were arms hidden away there. You did not seek for them properly at first. Be more diligent in future."

Verto Popakhian, an inhabitant of the village of Khalil Tshaush (Khnouss), narrated the following, the story of his troubles, which throws a curious sidelight on Turkish justice and Armenian peasant-life generally:

"A Koord named Djundee endeavored to carry off my niece, Nazo, but we took her to Erzeroum, and gave her in marriage to an Armenian. We often have to give our young girls in marriage when they are mere children, eleven to twelve years old, or else dress them up in boys' clothes, to preserve them undefiled. Nazo's husband was the son of the parish priest of Hertev. The Koords vowed vengeance upon me for saving the girl thus. Djundee beat my brother so seriously that he was ill in bed for nearly six months, and he and his men drove off my cattle, burned our grain, threshing-floor, and hay, and ruined us completely. When the girl came home on a visit, Djundee and his Koords attacked the house, and carried her off. We complained to all the authorities in the place and in Erzeroum too. By the time they agreed to examine the girl publicly, she had borne a child to the Koord, and shame prevented her return. She re-

mained a Mohammedan. We then bought a gun for our protection, the law forbidding firearms not existing yet. In 1893 we sold the gun to a Koord named Hadji Daho, but in 1894 the police came and demanded it. We said we had sold it, and the Koord bore out our assertion. He even showed it to them. But they arrested my brother and myself, and compelled us to give our two buffaloes in exchange for two guns, which they took away as incriminating proof of our guilt; and then they sent us to Erzeroum prison. We were kept here, suffering great hardships, for a long time. When eight months had passed away, my brother died of ill-treatment. Then they promised me my liberty in consideration of large bribes, which reduced me to absolute beggary. I had no choice. I gave them all they asked, leaving myself and family of nineteen persons completely destitute. *And then they condemned me to five years' imprisonment."*

Justice in all its aspects is rigorously denied to the Armenian. The mere fact that he dares to invoke it as plaintiff or prosecutor against a Koord or a Turk is always sufficient to metamorphose him into a defendant or a criminal, generally into both, whereupon he is invariably thrown into prison. In such cases the prison is intended to be no more than the halfway-house between relative comfort and absolute misery, the inmates being destined to be stripped of all they possess and then turned adrift. But what the prison really is cannot be made sufficiently clear in words. If the old English Star Chamber, the Spanish Inquisition, a Chinese opium den, the ward of a yellow fever hospital, and a nook in the lowest depths of Dante's Hell be conceived as blended and merged into one, the resulting picture will somewhat resemble a bad Turkish prison. Filth, stench, disease, deformity, pain in forms and degrees inconceivable in Europe, constitute the physical characteristics: the psychological include the blank despair that is final, fiendish, fierce malignity, hellish delight in human suffering, stoic self-sacrifice in the cultivation of loathsome vices, stark madness rag-

ing in the moral nature only—the whole incarnated in grotesque beings whose resemblance to man is a living blasphemy against the Deity. In these noisome dungeons, cries of exquisite suffering and shouts of unnatural delight continually commingle; ribald songs are sung to the accompaniment of heartrending groans; meanwhile the breath is passing away from bodies which had long before been soulless, and are unwept save by the clammy walls whereon the vapour of unimagined agonies and foul disease condenses into big drops and runs down in dribblets to the reeking ground. Truly it is a horrid nightmare quickened into life.

Last March I despatched a friend of mine to visit the political prisoners in the Bitlis penitentiary, and to ask them to give me a succinct account of their condition. Four of them replied in a joint letter, which is certainly the most gruesome piece of reading I have beheld ever since I first perused a description of the Black Hole. Only the least sensational passages can be stripped of the decent disguise of a foreign language and exposed to the light of day. It is dated "Bitlis Prison, Hell, March 28 (April 9th), 1895," and begins thus:

"In Bitlis Prison there are seven cells, each one capable of containing from ten to twelve persons. The number they actually contain is from twenty to thirty. *There are no sanitary arrangements whatever.* Offal, vermin, and the filth that should find a special place elsewhere are heaped together in the same cell. . . . The water is undrinkable. Frequently the Armenian prisoners are forced to drink 'Khwlitsh' water—*i.e.*, water from the tank in which the Mohammedans perform their ablutions. . . ."

Then follows a brief but suggestive account of the treatment endured by the writers' comrades, many of whom died from the effects. For example: "Malkhass Aghadjanian and Serop Malkhassian of Avzoot (Moush) were beaten till they lost consciousness. The former was branded in eight places, the latter in twelve places, with a hot iron." The further outrage which was

committed upon Serop must be nameless. "Hagop Seropian, of the village of Avzoot, was stripped and beaten till he lost consciousness; then a girdle was thrown round his neck, and having been dragged into the Zaptieh's room, he was branded in sixteen parts of his body with red-hot ram-rods." Having described other sufferings to which he was subjected, such as the plucking out of his hair, standing motionless in one place without food or drink till nature could hold out no longer, the writer goes on to mention outrages for which the English tongue has no name, and civilized people no ears. Then he continues:

"Sirko Minassian, Garabed Malkhassian, and Isro Ardvadzadoorian of the same village, having been violently beaten, were forced to remain in a standing position for a long time, and then had the contents of certain vessels poured upon their heads. Korki Mardoyan, of the village of Semol, was violently beaten; his hair was plucked out by the roots, and he was forced to stand motionless for twenty-four hours. Then Moolazim Hadji Ali and the gaoler, Abdoolkadir, forced him to perform the so-called *Sheitantopy*,* which resulted in his death. He was forty-five years of age. Mekhitar Saforian and Khatsho Baloyan of Kakarloo (Boolanik) were subjected to the same treatment. Mekhitar was but fifteen and Khatsho only thirteen years old. Sogho Sharoyan, of Alvarindj (Moush), was conveyed from Moush to Bitlis prison handcuffed. Here he was cruelly beaten, and forced to maintain a standing position without food. Whenever he fainted they revived him with douches of cold water and stripes. They also plucked out his hair, and burned his body with red-hot irons. Then . . . (They subjected him to treatment which cannot be described.) . . . Hambartzoon Boyadjian, after his arrest, was exposed to the scorching heat of the sun for three days. Then he

* Literally "Devil's ring." The hands are tightly bound together, and the feet, tied together by the great toes, are forced up over the hands. The remainder of the *Sheitantopy* consists of a severe torture and a beastly crime.

was taken to Semal, where he and his companions were beaten and shut up in a church. They were not only not allowed to leave the church to relieve the wants of nature, but were forced to defile the baptismal fonts and the church altar. . . . Where are you, Christian Europe and America?"

The four signatures at the foot of this letter include that of a highly respected and God-fearing ecclesiastic.*

I am personally acquainted with scores of people who have passed through these prison mills. The stories they narrate of their experience there are gruesome, and would be hard to believe were they not amply confirmed by the still more eerie tales told by their broken spirits, their wasted bodies, and the deep scars and monstrous deformities that will abide with them till the grave or the vultures devour them. There is something so forbiddingly fantastic and wildly grotesque in the tortures and outrages invented by their gaolers or their local governors that a simple, unvarnished account of them sounds like the ravings of a diseased devil. But this is a subject upon which it is impossible to be explicit.

The manner in which men qualify for the Turkish prison in Armenia can be easily deduced from what has already been said. The possession of money, cattle, corn, land, a wife or daughter, or enemies, is enough. We are shocked to read of the cruelty of brutal Koords, who ride to a village, attack the houses, drive off the sheep, seize all the portable property, dishonor the women, and return leisurely home, conscious of having done a good day's work. We call it a disgrace to civilization, and perhaps the qualification is correct. But bad as it sounds, it is a mercy compared with the *Turkish* methods, which rely upon the machinery of the law and the horrors of the prison. A man whom poverty, nay, hunger, prevents from paying imaginary arrears of taxes, who declines to give up his cow or his buffalo as backsheesh to the Zaptiehs,

* As three of the writers are still in prison, prudence forbids me to publish their names, which are in the possession of our Foreign Office.

who beseeches them to spare the honor of his wife or his daughter, is thrown into one of these dungeons, which he never leaves until he has been branded with the indelible stigma of the place. But let us take one of the usual and by no means most revolting cases of arrest and imprisonment as an illustration.

A young man from the village of Avzood (Moush District) went to Russia in search of work, and found it. He also married, and lived there for several years. Towards the close of 1892 he came back to his native village, and the police, informed that "an Armenian who has lived in Russia is returned," despatched four of their number under the orders of Isaag Tshaush to Avzood. They arrived two hours after sundown, and while three of them guarded the house where the young man was staying, the leader entered. Shots were heard immediately after, and the young Armenian and Isaag lay dead. The authorities in Bitlis then sent a Colonel of the Zaptiehs to Avzood to see "justice" done. And it was done very speedily. The Colonel summoned the men of the village—none of whom were mixed up in the matter—and put them in prison. Then the officials deflowered all the girls and dishonored all the young women in Avzood, after which they liberated the men, except about twenty, whom they conveyed to the gaol of Bitlis. A few of these died there, and ten others were soon afterwards dismissed. Finally they decided to charge a young teacher, Markar, of the village of Vartenis with the murder of Isaag Tshaush, and as there was no evidence against him, the other prisoners were ordered to testify. Armenians have the reputation of being liars, but they certainly draw the line at swearing away an innocent man's life; and they refused in this case to commit the double crime of perjury and murder. Strenuous efforts were made to determine them; they were stripped naked, burned in various parts of the body with red-hot irons, till they yelled with pain. Then they were prevented from sleeping for several nights, and tortured acutely again, till, writhing and quivering, they promised to swear anything, everything, if once re-

lieved from their agony. A document declaring that Markar was in the village when Isaag Tshaush arrived there, and that he had shot Isaag in their presence, was drawn up in their names. To this they duly affixed their seals. Meanwhile Markar himself was being tortured in another part of the prison.

When the trial came on and the incriminating document was read, the signatories stripped themselves in court, exhibited the ugly marks left by the red-hot irons, and called God to witness that that evidence of theirs, wrung from them by maddening torture, was a lie. Markar, on the other hand, declared that he was not in Avzood village at all on the night in question. But these statements were unavailing; he was hanged last year, and the "witnesses" condemned to various terms in fortified towns. Some of the women dishonored by the Zaptiehs died from the effects of the treatment to which they were subjected.

The gaolers grow rich on the money they wring from the inmates of the cells. The prison-keeper of Bitlis Prison, Abdoolkader, a wretch who, God having presumably made him, may be called a man, earns enormous sums in this way. He lately spent £500 on his house, and two or three Turkish merchants are said to be doing business on his capital, although his salary is only about 50s. a month. These sums are received as bribes, not for any positive return made to the prisoners, but for mere relief from torture employed solely for this purpose. The following case may give some idea of the nature of the relief thus highly paid for. Some five months ago three men of the village of Krtabaz were arrested and imprisoned.* The fact that they were released without trial ten weeks later is evidence enough of their innocence of crime. They were taken to the prison of Hassankaleh. The room in which they were confined was overcrowded. The term overcrowding does not connote the same thing in Armenia as in European prisons. *They had no room to lie down at all.* Some Koordish prisoners confined in the same dismal den, who enjoyed special privileges,

* Their names are Vehret, Mardiross Der Kasparian, and Goolbeg.

had but two and a half feet space to sleep in. In one corner of the dungeon a hole in the wall represented the prison-equivalent of sanitation, and these three Armenians were told that they must stand up by this hole, and might lean against the wall to sleep. *This they did for fifteen consecutive nights.* The stench, the filth, the vermin exceed all conception. After the lapse of fifteen days, by dint of starving themselves, they were enabled to give part of their food to some of the Koords, one of whom allowed the Armenians to take his place in turn during the day. This was not much, for the Koords themselves had only sitting space, about 2½ feet long ; still it did afford relief. But the Koord was severely punished for this benevolence or enterprise. His rations of bread were cut off, and he was put in irons for several days. The men he thus befriended, who now aver they owe their lives to him, were notables of their village, and innocent persons to boot, who were released some weeks later because "they had done no wrong."

It is no easy thing for an Armenian man to cross the frontier and enter Russia, if he possess a gold or silver coin or an article of clothing ; nor for a woman to leave the country without first undergoing indignities, the mere mention of which should make a man's blood boil with shame and indignation. "Oh, but these things are not felt so acutely by Armenians as they would be by Europeans," said an English lady to me a few days ago : "the wind is tempered to the shorn lamb, don't you know." It may be so ; but I have seen and conversed with hundreds and hundreds of Armenian women lately, and I found no signs of the tempering process. Whatever vices or virtues may be predicated of Armenian women, chastity must be numbered among their essential characteristics. They carry it to an incredible extreme. In many places an Armenian woman never even speaks to any man but her husband, unless the latter is present. Even to her nearest and dearest male relatives and connections she has nothing to say ; and her purity, in the slums of Erzeroum as in the valleys of Sassoun, is above suspicion. Yet these are the

people who are being continually outraged by brutal Koords and beastly Turks, oftentimes until death releases them. But the difficulty of emigrating from Turkey, with money, clothing, or women, will be best understood in the light of a few concrete examples. Not that the Turks object to their leaving. On the contrary—and this is the most conclusive proof of the existence of the Plan of Extermination—they actually drive them over the frontier and then persistently refuse to allow them to return.

Sahag Garoyan, questioned as to the reasons why he and his family of ten persons emigrated from his village of Kheter (Sandjak of Bayazid), deposed as follows :

" We could not remain because we were treated as beasts of burden by Rezekam Bey, son of Djaffer Agha, and his men, who belong to his Majesty's Hamidieh corps, and can therefore neither be punished nor complained of. I emigrated towards the end of last year. Rezekam had come with his followers, as if it were war time, and taken possession of the houses of the Armenians, driving the occupants away. Only seven families were allowed to stay on. The others, having no place to go to, took refuge in the church. We had to feed the Koords for three months, giving them our corn, sheep, etc., and keeping their cattle in fodder. We had to serve some of them as beasts of burden.* Rezekam himself paid a weekly visit to the village of Karakilisse, and levied a contribution of £10 Turkish on the inhabitants, besides hay, barley, etc., for his men. At last, unable to bear this burden any longer, we addressed a complaint to the authorities. They told us to be gone. Then a Koord, named Ghazas Teamer, ordered us to sign a document setting forth that we were prosperous and happy. This was to be sent to Constantinople, as he wished to be appointed Yoozbashi of the Hamidiehs. No one signed the paper, whereat Teamer grew angry,

* This is no uncommon thing in Armenia.

and killed Avaki and his brother. Five months later he killed Minass, son of Kre, of the village of Mankassar. When the winter came on last year, Rezekam Bey imprisoned our neighbor Sarkiss, son of Sahag, had his head plunged in cold water and dried; after that it was steeped in petroleum and his hair burned off. Then he endeavored to violate Sara, Sarkiss' sister, but she was smuggled away in time. Rezekam's servant, Kheto, dishonored Moorad's wife; and a few days later entered the house of Abraham, an inhabitant of the same village, commanding him to go and work for Rezekam Bey. Abraham's wife, who was about to become a mother, begged that he might be allowed to stay at home; but Kheto kicked her in the stomach, and she was delivered of a dead child an hour or so after. Oh, we could not live there—not if we were beasts, instead of Christians."

Mgirdeetch Mekhoyan, aged thirty-five, of the village of Koopegheran (Sandjok of Bayazid), deposed: "I emigrated in 1894 because Aipa Pasha came with forty Koordish families, demolished our church, and took everything we had." The same story, with variations, comes from every Sandjak, almost from every village of the five Armenian provinces. Bedross Kozdyan, aged fifty-five, of the village of Arog (Sandjak of Van), testified:

"I left my village and my country with my family in August, last year (1894), because we were driven away by the Koords under Kri, son of Tshalo, who was abetted by the Turkish authorities. He first came and violated three girls and three young married women, whom he took away in spite of their cries and prayers. Three Armenians tried to protect the wretched women, who implored them not to let them go. But the Koords killed the three on the spot. Their names were Sarkiss, Khatsho, and Keveark. Next day he and his men drove off the sheep of the villagers. We complained to the Governor of Van, but he said he could not move in the matter. Ten days later the Koords came again, and carried away our wheat, bar-

ley, and live stock, and burned the hay which they could not transport. Then they knocked down the altar of our church, hoping to find gold and silver hidden away there. We again besought the authorities to protect us, but they replied, 'We'll slaughter you like sheep if you dare to come again with your complaints against good Mohammedans.' Then we took what we could with us and set out for Russia. When we reached Sinak six armed Koords attacked us, robbed us of everything we had, and sent us over the frontier with nothing but our clothes."

The Plan of Extermination is obviously working smoothly and well. The Christian population is decimated, villages are changing hands almost as quickly as the scenes shift in a comic opera, and the exodus to Russia and the processions to the churchyard are increasing. This is not the place to give a list of *islamized* villages, but a typical case may help to convey an idea of the process that is going on even now. In the province of Alashkerd, which borders upon Russia, there are five villages to the east of Karakilisse, named respectively, Khedr (or Kheter), Mangassar, Djoodjan, Ziro and Koopkheran. These villages Eyoob Pasha sent his sons to occupy. Koords of the Zilanlee tribe, they are all officers in the Hamidieh corps. General Eyoob has three sons, Rezgo Bey, Khalid Bey and Yoossoof Bey, and these gallant officers with their followers set out last spring and took the villages for themselves. There were about 400 Armenian houses there at the time, or, say roughly, some 3,000 Christian inhabitants. There is not one there to-day. Only one individual, named Avedis Agha, has remained, and even he lives not in one of the four villages, but in Yoondjaloo. He was a wealthy man when the Koords arrived; he is indigent now. The Armenians were completely driven out in the course of a few months by methods which may be termed somewhat drastic. For example: one day the Koords met Markar, son of Ghoogo, in the fields carrying home his corn. They demanded his *araba* (cart). He replied that it was en-

gaged now, as they could see for themselves, but that he would give it later on. They killed him on the spot for disobedience, and threw his body on the cart. Thirty villagers went with their children to complain to the Kaimakam in Karakilisse. The Kaimakam caused them to remain waiting in the open air for eleven days before he would hear them. And having heard them, he told them to go—to Russia.

In the Vilayet of Bitlis (Kaza of Boolanyk and Sandjak of Moush) there is a village named Kadjloo, which, being interpreted, means "Village of the Cross." It is a village of the Crescent now. The means by which the sudden change was effected are identical in character with those already described. Mohammed Emin led a number of Koords (outcasts from the Djibranlee and Hassnanlee tribes) against the village, took it, so to say, by storm, and, to use their own picturesque expression, "sat down in it." Happily it is situated only five miles distant from the seat of the Turkish Deputy-Governor, but, unhappily for the people, he refused to move a finger, and they were all driven off like sheep. Perhaps this is one of the cases in which the wind is tempered to the shorn sheep?

Then the conquerors set about raiding the neighboring villages, and in particular Piran, which is about a mile further off. These would likewise have changed hands had it not been for a bright idea of one of the chief villagers, at whose suggestion a Koord named Assad Agha was invited to come and quarter his men in Piran, *accepting for himself twenty corn-fields, ten meadows*, and a spacious two-story house, which was built expressly for him by an architect from Bitlis, in return for which he undertook to protect the Armenians from Mohammed Emin and his merry men.

Three hundred and six of the principal inhabitants of the District of Khnouss gave me a signed petition when I was leaving Armenia, and requested me to lay it before "the humane and noble people of England." In this document they truly say:

"We now solemnly assure you that the butchery of

Sassoun is but a drop in the ocean of Armenian blood shed gradually and silently all over the Empire since the late Turko-Russian war. Year by year, month by month, day by day, innocent men, women and children have been shot down, stabbed, or clubbed to death in their houses and their fields, tortured in strange, fiendish ways in fetid prison cells, or left to rot in exile under the scorching sun of Arabia. During the progress of that long and horrible tragedy no voice was raised for mercy, no hand extended to help us. That process is still going on, but it has already entered upon its final phases, and the Armenian people are at the last gasp. Is European sympathy destined to take the form of a cross upon our graves?"

I have also received two touching appeals from the women of Armenia, sealed with their seals, and addressed to their sisters of England. What *they* ask is indeed little—that they be protected from dishonor. And, until the General Elections gave us a strong Government, which knows its own mind, it seemed as if these women were asking for the moon.

On November 7th last a Turk of the city of Bayazid asked Avedis Krmoyan to pay a little debt. The Armenian, not having the money at the time, besought his creditor to wait a few weeks. The Turk refused, and insisted on taking Krmoyan's wife as a pledge that the money would be paid. Entreaties and tears were unavailing; the woman was carried off, and then forced to become a Moslem. She can never return to her husband again.

In the village of Khosso Veran (Bassen) a girl named Selvy was seized by a Turk as security for a debt contracted by her father. The creditor kept her three months and dishonored her; nor would he consent to set her free until Giragoss Ohannissean went bail for her. As the debt, however, is unpaid, the Turk has a mortgage on her still. This sort of thing cannot be said to be uncommon, for although I knew but three cases of it from personal knowledge, I heard of more than a score in different parts of Armenia.

It is not only absolutely useless, but often positively

dangerous, to complain to the officials, who, from high to low, take an active part in this Oriental "sport" themselves. The Kiateebs of Alai entered the house of Ohannes Goolykian (village of Karatshoban in Khnouss) in the broad daylight, and raped the daughter of Ohannes, who was fifteen years old, and then sent her off to Trebizond. Her father complained, besought the authorities to restore her, and it is only fair to say that, so far as I know, he was not punished for his temerity.

The Deputy-Governor of Arabghir actually arrested and expelled a number of the men of the town whose wives were considered to be among the most handsome women in Armenia. He next approached the latter, but was received with the scorn he deserved. Then these women shut themselves up in their houses, refusing to allow him or his men to enter, whereupon he told them, publicly and shamelessly, that if they wished their husbands to return, they must yield to his desires.

The following case is one in which I took a very lively interest, because I am well acquainted with the victim and her family. Her name is Lucine Mussegh, her native village Khnoossaber. Born in 1878, Lucine was sent at an early age to the American Missionary School at Erzeroum, where she was taught the doctrines of evangelical Christianity, her father, Aghadjan Kemalian, having always manifested a strong sympathy for Protestantism. Armenian girls are in chronic danger of being raped by Turks and Koords, and Armenian parents are continually scheming for the purpose of shielding them from this calamity which, as we have seen, occasionally results in death. The means usually employed are very early marriages or attempts to pass off the girls as boys.* I have known children to be taken from school, married, allowed to live a few months with their husbands or wives, and then sent back to school again. This is what happened

* In the village of Ishkhoe, for instance, the daughter of Tepan Agha was brought up as a boy. She was arrested and imprisoned some time ago in Erzeroum, for this, too, is a crime.

to Lucine, who, taken from school at the age of four teen, was wedded to a boy of her own age, Milikean by name, and having lived some time with him under his father's roof, was sent to the Protestant school once more. One night, during her husband's absence from home, she was seized by some men, dragged by the hair, gagged, and taken to the house of Hussni Bey. *This man is the son of the Deputy-Governor of the place.* He dishonored the young woman, and sent her home next day, but her husband refused to receive her any more, and she is now friendless and alone in the world.*

The massacre of Sassoun sends a shudder to the hearts of the most callous. But that butchery was a divine mercy compared with the hellish deeds that are being done every week and every day of the year. The piteous moans of famishing children; the groans of old men who have lived to see what can never be embodied in words; the piercing cries of violated maidenhood, nay, of tender childhood; the shrieks of mothers made childless by crimes compared with which murder would be a blessing; the screams, scarcely human, of women writhing under the lash; and all the vain voices of blood and agony that die away in that dreary desert without having found a responsive echo on earth or in heaven, combine to throw Sassoun and all its horrors into the shade.

Such are the things for which we are morally responsible; and in spite of the circumstances that the late Liberal Government was in possession of these and analogous facts, Lord Kimberley found it impossible to have them remedied and unadvisable to have them published. There is fortunately good reason to believe that Lord Salisbury, who alone among English statesmen seems accurately to gauge all the difficulties of this thorny question, will find efficacious means of putting a sudden and a speedy end to the Armenian Pandemonium.

* She gave me an appeal to the women of England signed by herself, together with her photograph.

ARMENIA: AN APPEAL.*

BY E. J. DILLON.

From *The Contemporary Review* (London), January, 1896.

THE time has come for every reasoning inhabitant of these islands deliberately to accept or repudiate his share of the joint indirect responsibility of the British nation for a series of the hugest and foulest crimes that have ever stained the pages of human history. The Armenian people in Anatolia are being exterminated, root and branch, by Turks and Kurds—systematically and painfully exterminated by such abominable methods and with such fiendish accompaniments as may well cause the most sluggish blood to boil and seethe with shame and indignation.

For the Armenians are not lawless barbarians or brigands; nor are the Turks and Kurds the accredited torch-bearers of civilisation. But even if the rôles of the actors in this hideous drama were thus distributed, an excuse might at most be found for severity, but no pretext could be discovered for the slow torture and gradual vivisection employed by fanatic Mohammedans to end the lives of their Christian neighbours. If, for instance, it be expedient that Armenians should be exterminated, why chop them up piecemeal, and, in the intervals of this protracted process, banter the agonised victims who are wildly calling upon God and man to put them out of pain? Why must an honest, hard-working man be torn from his bed or his fireside, forced to witness the violation of his daughter by a band of all-pitiless demons, unable to rescue or help her, and then, his own turn come, have his hand cut off and stuffed into his mouth, while a short sermon is being preached to him on the text, "If your God be God, why does He not succour you?" at the peroration of which the other hand is hacked off, and, amid boisterous shouts of jubilation, his ears are torn from his head and his feet severed with a hatchet, while the

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piercing screams, the piteous prayers, the hideous contortions of the agonising victim intoxicate with physico-spiritual ecstasies the souls of the frantic fanatics around? And why, when the last and merciful stroke of death is being dealt, must obscene jokes and unutterable blasphemies sear the victim's soul and prolong his hell to the uttermost limits of time, to the very threshold of eternity? Surely, roasting alive, flaying, disembowelling, impaling, and all that elaborate and ingenious aggravation of savage pain on which the souls of these human fiends seem to feast and flourish, have nothing that can excuse them in the eyes of Christians, however deeply absorbed in politics.

But it is the Turks and Kurds who, at their best, are stagnant, sluggish, and utterly averse from progress; and at their worst are—the beings who conceive, perpetrate, and glory in the horrors just enumerated and in others that must be nameless. The Armenians, on the contrary, constitute the sole civilising—nay, with all their many faults, the sole humanising—element in Anatolia; peaceful to the degree of self-sacrifice, law-abiding to their own undoing, and industrious and hopeful under conditions, which would appal the majority of mankind. At their best, they are the stuff of which heroes and martyrs are moulded. Christians, believing, as we believe, that God revealed Himself to the world in Jesus Christ, they have held fast to the teachings of our common Master in spite of disgrace and misery, in the face of fire and sword, in the agonies of torture and death. From the middle of the fifth century, when the hero Vartan and his dauntless companions died defending their faith against the Persian Mazdeans,* scarcely a year has elapsed in which Armenian men and women have not unhesitatingly and unostentatiously laid down their lives for their

* Yezdiged II., King of Persia, insisted on the apostacy of the Armenian people, whom he commanded to embrace the garbled doctrines of Zoroaster. Vartan, the chieftain of the race, gathered 287 members of the royal family around him, and with a following of 749 others, manfully died on the field of battle after a bloody combat with the Persian troops, on June 2, 450.

religious belief. The murdered of Sassoon, of Van, of Erzeroum were also Christian martyrs ; and any or all of those whose eyes were lately gouged out, whose limbs were wrenched asunder, and whose quivering flesh was torn from their bodies, might have obtained life and comparative prosperity by merely pronouncing the formula of Islam and abjuring Christ. But, instead of this, they commended their souls to their Creator, delivered up their bodies to the tormentors, endured indescribable agonies, and died, like Christian martyrs, defying Heaven itself, so to say, by their boundless trust in God.

Identity of ideals, aspirations, and religious faith give this unfortunate but heroic people strong claims on the sympathy of the English people, whose ancestors, whatever their religious creed, never hesitated to die for it, and when the breath of God swept over them, breasted the hurricane of persecution.

But what special claims to our sympathy are needed by men and women whom we see treated by their masters as the damned were said to be dealt with by the devils in the deepest of hell's abysses? Our written laws condemn cruelty to a horse, a dog, a cat ; our innate sense of justice moves us to punish the man who should wantonly torture a rat, say, by roasting it alive. And shall it be asserted that our instincts of justice, humanity, mercy need to be reinforced by extrinsic considerations before we consent to stretch out a helping hand, not to a brute or to a single individual, but to tens of thousands of honest, industrious Christian men, pure, virtuous women, and innocent little children to save them from protracted tortures, compared with some of which roasting alive is a swift and merciful death? Yet it is a melancholy fact that we have not alleviated the sufferings of these woe-stricken people by a single pang, and that the succour which no one of us, individually, would dream of withholding from a friend, a neighbour, nay, a bitter enemy were he in such straits, we all, as a nation, deny to our Christian brethren who are being bludgeoned, sawn in twain, burned or thrust fainting into a gory grave.

Why is it that our compassion for these, our fellow-men, has not yet assumed the form of effective help? For reasons of "higher politics;" because, forsooth, the Turks and Kurds, in whose soulless bodies the Gadarene legion of unclean spirits would seem to have taken up their abode, are indispensable to Christian civilisation—for the time being; and because the millions of soldiers, the deadly rifles and the destructive warships which are accounted the most costly possessions of contemporary Europe cannot be spared in such a cause—they are wanted by the Christian nations to mow each other down with. In a word, the civilisation built up on Christ's Gospel cannot stand, or at least cannot thrive, without the support of Kurdish cruelty and Turkish thuggery! It may be asked, on what grounds the people of Great Britain ought to show themselves more ready to pity, and more eager to succour, the Armenians than our Continental neighbours. The question differs little in spirit from that which the priest and the Levite asked themselves as they passed the helpless man mentioned by Jesus, who, on his way to Jericho, had fallen among thieves, and was left lying half-dead. But in the present case an answer is forthcoming, an answer which is calculated to satisfy the most callous among us, and transform us into Good Samaritans. Briefly, it is this: because we are primarily responsible for their sufferings; because they are the innocent victims of our selfish pursuit of political interests—which have none the less eluded our grasp, and left us empty-handed, and face to face with the calamitous results of our egotism.

In the first place, we refused to recognise the Treaty of San Stefano, and to allow the Christian subjects of the Sultan to owe the boon of humane treatment to Russia's policy or generosity. We insisted on delivering them back, bound hand and foot, to their rabid enemies, undertaking, however, to undo their fetters later on. But the "later on" never came. Oppression, persecution, incredible manifestations of savagery, characterised the dealings of the Turks with the Christians, but we closed our eyes and shut our ears

until the Porte, encouraged by our connivance, organised the wholesale massacres of Sassoon. Then, for the first time, we interfered, striking out a line of action which we knew must prove disastrous if not completely successful, and without first assuring ourselves that we could and would work it out to a favourable issue. And the result was what was feared from the first. We acted as a surgeon might who, about to perform a dangerous operation, should lay the patient on the table, probe the wound, cut the flesh, and just when the last and decisive manipulation was needed to save the life of the sufferer, should turn away, and leave him to bleed to death.

These are reasons why we, and we more than any other people, are responsible for the misery of the Armenians.

The condition of Armenian Christians when we first interfered (1878) was, from a humane point of view, deplorable. Laws existed only on paper. Mohammedan crimes were punishable only in theory. Life and property depended for security solely on the neighbourly feeling which custom and community of interests had gradually fostered between Moslems and Christians, and which greed or fanaticism might at any moment suddenly uproot. Russia was willing to substitute law and order for crime and chaos, and to guarantee to Christians the treatment due to human beings. But we then denied her right to do this, as she refuses to admit our claim to undertake it single-handed. Our interference was inspired by purely political calculations, unredeemed by considerations of humanity. About this there is now no doubt, nor was there then any disguise. Our political interests needed, or our Government fancied they needed, the propping up of the Turkish Empire, when the Turkish Empire had already become the embodiment of the powers of darkness. And to these fancied interests were sacrificed the property, the honour, the lives of the Armenian people. But not to appear less generous or humane than our northern rival, we solemnly and emphatically

promised to compel the Porte to deal fairly with its Christian subjects, and we undertook to see that such reforms were introduced as would enable Armenians to work without fear of legalised robbery or lawless brigandage, to marry without the certitude of having their wives dishonoured and their daughters violated, and to worship God after the manner of their fathers without being liable to imprisonment, torture, and death. We said in effect: "Though our political interests may clash with those of Russia, we will see to it that they are not subversive of the elementary principles of human justice and the immutable law of God. Therefore we declare that we are actuated by the will and possessed of the power to induce or compel the Porte to grant such political and administrative reforms as are essential to the well-being of its Armenian subjects."

This promise, and the events that rendered it necessary, constitute the main claim of the Armenian people in Turkey to English sympathy and assistance.

Yet we never took any efficacious step to fulfil that solemn promise. We never said or did anything the effect of which was to assuage the sufferings which owed their continued existence to our egotism. Nay, more; we allowed things to drift from bad to worse, mismanagement to develop into malignity, oppression to merge in extermination, and for the space of seventeen years we deliberately shut our eyes and closed our ears to the ghastly sights and lugubrious sounds that accompanied the horrors of Turkish misrule in Armenia. Our consuls forwarded exhaustive reports, the Press published heartrending details, Armenian ecclesiastics presented piteous appeals—all of them describing deeds more gruesome and nefarious than those which in patriarchal days brought down fire from heaven upon Sodom and Gomorrah. But we "pigeon-holed" the consular reports, pooh-poohed the particulars published by the Press, or characterised them as a tissue of gross exaggerations, and ignored the petition of the priests.

Let it not be supposed for a moment that this breach

of faith was a mere "political peccadillo." It is often implicitly assumed, and sometimes flippantly affirmed, that politics postulate a code of morals different from that of private life. Even if this strange theory were true, it would furnish no justification, no excuse, no pretext for this indefensible conduct of a great nation towards a poor and downtrodden people. For the guiles and wiles, the subterfuges and stratagems which commonly characterise the diplomatic dealing of independent peoples and States are usually confined, even in their furthest consequences, by the narrow limits of the political sphere. They leave the real weal and woe of individuals practically untouched. National prestige, commercial advantages, or, at most, a strip of territory, is all that is at stake. But our unfortunate action and inaction made themselves immediately and fatally felt in the very homes and at the firesides of hundreds of thousands of Christian men and women, driving them into exile, shutting them up in noisome prisons, and subjecting them to every conceivable species of indignity, outrage, and death. We pressed a knob, as it were, in London, and thereby opened hell's portals in Asia Minor, letting loose legions of fiends in human shape, who set about torturing and exterminating the Christians there. And, lest it should be urged that our Government was ignorant of the wide-reaching effects of its ill-advised action, it is on record that for seventeen years it continued to watch the harrowing results of that action without once interfering to stop it, although at any moment during that long period of persecution it could have redeemed its promise, and rescued the Christians from their unbearable lot.

If a detailed description were possible of the horrors which our exclusive attention to our own mistaken interests let loose upon Turkish Armenians, there is not a man within the kingdom of Great Britain whose heartstrings would not be touched and thrilled by the gruesome stories of which it would be composed.

During all those seventeen years written law, traditional custom, the fundamental maxims of human and

divine justice were suspended in favour of a Moham-
medan saturnalia. The Christians by whose toil and
thrift the empire was held together, were despoiled,
beggared, chained, beaten and banished or butchered.
First their movable wealth was seized, then their landed
property was confiscated, next the absolute necessities
of life were wrested from them, and finally honour, lib-
erty, and life were taken with as little ado as if these
Christian men and women were wasps or mosquitoes.
Thousands of Armenians were thrown into prison by
governors like Tahsin Pasha and Bahri Pasha, and tor-
tured and terrorised till they delivered up the savings
of a lifetime, and the support of the helpless families,
to ruffianly parasites. Whole villages were attacked
in broad daylight by the Imperial Kurdish cavalry
without pretext or warning, the male inhabitants turned
adrift or killed, and their wives and daughters trans-
formed into instruments to glut the foul lusts of these
bestial murderers. In a few years the provinces were
decimated, Aloghkerd, for instance, being almost en-
tirely "purged" of Armenians. Over 20,000 woe-
stricken wretches, once healthy and well-to-do, fled to
Russia or to Persia in rags and misery, deformed, dis-
eased, or dying; on the way they were seized over
and over again by the soldiers of the Sultan, who de-
prived them of the little money they possessed, nay, of
the clothes they were wearing, outraged the married
women in presence of their sons and daughters, de-
flowered the tender girls before the eyes of their moth-
ers and brothers, and then drove them over the fron-
tier to hunger and die. Those who remained for a
time behind were no better off. Kurdish brigands
lifted the last cows and goats of the peasants, carried
away their carpets and their valuables, raped their
daughters, and dishonoured their wives. Turkish tax-
gatherers followed these, gleaning what the brigands
had left, and, lest anything should escape their avarice,
bound the men, flogged them till their bodies were a
bloody, mangled mass, cicatrised the wounds with red
hot ramrods, plucked out their beards hair by hair,
tore the flesh from their limbs with pincers, and often,

even then, dissatisfied with the financial results of their exertions, hung the men whom they had thus beggared and maltreated from the rafters of the room and kept there to witness with burning shame, impotent rage, and incipient madness, the dishonouring of their wives and the deflowering of their daughters, some of whom died miserably during the hellish outrage.

Stories of this kind in connection with Turkish misrule in Armenia have grown familiar to English ears of late, and it is to be feared that people are now so much accustomed to them that they have lost the power of conveying corresponding definite impressions to the mind. The more is the pity. It is only meet that we should make some effort to realise the sufferings which we have brought down upon inoffensive men and women, and to understand somewhat of the shame, the terror, the despair that must take possession of the souls of Christians whose lives are a martyrdom of such unchronicled agonies, during which no ray of the life-giving light that plays about the throne of God ever pierces the mist of blood and tears that rises between the blue of heaven and the everlasting grey of the charnel-house called Armenia.

It should be remembered that these statements are neither rumours nor exaggerations concerning which we are justified in suspending our judgment. History has set its seal upon them; diplomacy has slowly verified and reluctantly recognised them as established facts, and religion and humanity are now called upon to place their emphatic protest against them on record. The Turks, in their confidential moods, have admitted these and worse acts of savagery; the Kurds glory in them at all times; trustworthy Europeans have witnessed and described them, and Armenians groaned over them in blank despair. Officers and nobles in the Sultan's own cavalry regiments, like Mostigo the Kurd, bruit abroad with unpardonable pride the story of the long series of rapes and murders which marked their official careers, and laugh to scorn the notion of being punished for robbing and killing the Armenians, whom the Sublime Porte desires them to exterminate.

Nay, it was the Armenians themselves who were punished if they complained when their own relatives or friends were murdered. And they were punished, either on the charge of having cruelly done their own parents, sisters, children to death, or else on suspicion of having killed the murderers, who, however, were always found afterwards living and thriving *in the Sultan's employ*, and were never disturbed there. Three hundred and six of the principal inhabitants of the district of Khnouss, in a piteous appeal to the people of England, wrote :

"Year by year, month by month, day by day, innocent men, women and children have been shot down, stabbed, or clubbed to death, in their houses and their fields, tortured in strange fiendish ways in fetid prison cells, or left to rot in exile under the scorching sun of Arabia. During that long and horrible tragedy no voice was raised for mercy, no hand extended to help us. . . . Is European sympathy destined to take the form of a cross on our graves?"

Now the answer has been given. These ill-starred men might now know that European sympathy has taken a different form—that of a marine guard before the Sultan's palace to shield him and his from harm from without while they proceed with their orgies of blood and lust within. These simple men of Khnouss might now know and wonder at this—if they were still among the living ; but most of them have been butchered since then, like the relatives and friends whose lot they lamented and yet envied.

In accordance with the plan of extermination, which has been carried out with such signal success during these long years of Turkish vigour and English sluggishness, all those Armenians who possessed money or money's worth were for a time allowed to purchase immunity from prison, and from all that prison life in Asia Minor implies. But, as soon as terror and summary confiscation took the place of slow and elaborate extortion, the gloomy dungeons of Erzeroum, Erzinghan, Marsovan, Hassankaleh, and Van were filled, till there was no place to sit down, and *scarcely sufficient standing room*. And this means more than English people can realise, or any person believe who has not actu-

ally witnessed it. It would have been a torture for Turkish troopers and Kurdish brigands, but it was worse than death to the educated schoolmasters, missionaries, priests, and physicians, who were immured in these noisome hotbeds of infection, and forced to sleep night after night standing on their feet, leaning against the foul, reeking corner of the wall which all the prisoners were compelled to use as. . . . The very worst class of Tartar and Kurdish criminals were turned in here to make these hell-chambers more unbearable to the Christians. And the experiment was everywhere successful. Human hatred and diabolical spite, combined with the most disgusting sights and sounds and stenches, with their gnawing hunger and their putrid food, their parching thirst and the slimy water, fit only for sewers, rendered their agony maddening. Yet these were not criminals nor alleged criminals, but upright Christian men, who were never even accused of an infraction of the law. No man who has not seen these prisons with his own eyes, and heard these prisoners with his own ears, can be expected to conceive, much less realise, the sufferings inflicted and endured. The loathsome diseases, whose terrible ravages were freely displayed; the still more loathsome vices, which were continually and openly practised; the horrible blasphemies, revolting obscenities and ribald jests which alternated with cries of pain, songs of vice, and prayers to the unseen God, made these prisons, in some respects, nearly as bad as the Black Hole of Calcutta, and in others infinitely worse. In one corner of this foul fever-nest a man might be heard moaning and groaning with the pain of a shattered arm or leg; in another, a youth is convulsed with the death spasms of cholera or poison; in the centre, a knot of Turks, whose dull eyes are fired with bestial lust, surround a Christian boy, who pleads for mercy with heart-harrowing voice while the human fiends actually outrage him to death.

Into these prisons venerable old ministers of religion were dragged from their churches, teachers from their schools, missionaries from their meeting houses, mer-

chants, physicians, and peasants from their fire-sides. Those among them who refused to denounce their friends, or consent to some atrocious crime, were subjected to horrible agonies. Many a one, for instance, was put into a sentry-box bristling with sharp spikes, and forced to stand there motionless, without food or drink, for twenty-four and even thirty-six hours, was revived with stripes whenever he fell fainting to the prickly floor, and was carried out unconscious at the end. It was thus that hundreds of Armenian Christians, whose names and histories are on record, suffered for refusing to sign addresses to the Sultan accusing their neighbours and relatives of high treason. It was thus that Azo was treated by his judges, the Turkish officials, Talib Effendi, Captain Reshid, and Captain Hadji Fehim Agha, for declining to swear away the lives of the best men of his village. A whole night was spent in torturing him. He was first bastinadoed in a room close to which his female relatives and friends were shut up so that they could hear his cries. Then he was stripped naked, and two poles, extending from his armpits to his feet, were placed on either side of his body and tied tightly. His arms were next stretched out horizontally and poles arranged to support his hands. This living cross was then bound to a pillar, and the flogging began. The whips left livid traces behind. The wretched man was unable to make the slightest movement to ease his pain. His features alone, hideously distorted, revealed the anguish he endured. The louder he cried, the more heavily fell the whip. Over and over again he entreated his tormentors to put him out of pain, saying: "If you want my death, kill me with a bullet, but for God's sake don't torture me like this!" His head alone being free he, at last, maddened by excruciating pain, endeavoured to dash out his brains against the pillar, hoping in this way to end his agony. But this consummation was hindered by the police. They questioned him again; but in spite of his condition, Azo replied as before: "I cannot defile my soul with the blood of innocent people. I am a Christian." Enraged at this ob-

stinacy, Talib Effendi, the Turkish official, ordered the application of other and more effective tortures. Pincers were fetched to pull out his teeth; but, Azo remaining firm, this method was not long persisted in. Then Talib commanded his servants to pluck out the prisoner's moustachios by the roots, one hair at a time. This order the gendarmes executed, with roars of infernal laughter. But this treatment proving equally ineffectual, Talib instructed his men to cauterise the unfortunate victim's body. A spit was heated in the fire. Azo's arms were freed from their supports, and two brawny policemen approached, one on each side, and seized him. Meanwhile another gendarme held to the middle of the wretched man's hands the glowing spit. While his flesh was thus burning, the victim shouted out in agony, "For the love of God kill me at once!"

Then the executioners, removing the red hot spit from his hands, applied it to his breast, then to his back, his face, his feet, and other parts. After this, they forced open his mouth, and burned his tongue with red hot pincers. During these inhuman operations, Azo fainted three several times, but on recovering consciousness maintained the same inflexibility of purpose. Meanwhile, in the adjoining apartment, a heartrending scene was being enacted. The women and the children, terrified by the groans and cries of the tortured man, fainted. When they revived, they endeavoured to rush out to call for help, but the gendarmes, stationed at the door, barred their passage, and brutally pushed them back.*

Nights were passed in such hellish orgies and days in inventing new tortures or refining upon the old, with an ingenuity which reveals unimagined strata of malignity in the human heart. The results throw the most sickening horrors of the Middle Ages into the shade.

* The above description is taken literally from a report of the British Vice-Consul of Erzeroum. Copies are in possession of the diplomatic representatives of the Powers at Constantinople. The scene occurred in the village of Semal before the massacres, during the *normal* condition of things.

Some of them cannot be described, nor even hinted at. The shock to people's sensibilities would be too terrible. And yet they were not merely described to, but endured by, men of education and refinement, whose sensibilities were as delicate as ours.

And when the prisons in which these and analogous doings were carried on had no more room for new comers, some of the least obnoxious of its actual inmates were released for a bribe, or, in case of poverty, were expeditiously poisoned off.

In the homes of these wretched people the fiendish fanatics were equally active and equally successful. Family life was poisoned at its very source. Rape and dishonour, with nameless accompaniments, menaced almost every girl and woman in the country. They could not stir out of their houses in the broad daylight to visit the bazaars, or to work in the fields, nor even lie down at night in their own homes without fearing the fall of that Damocles' sword ever suspended over their head. Tender youth, childhood itself, was no guarantee. Children were often married at the age of eleven, even to ten, in the vain hope of lessening this danger. But the protection of a husband proved unavailing; it merely meant one murder more, and one "Christian dog" less. A bride would be married in church yesterday and her body would be devoured by the beasts and birds of prey to-morrow—a band of ruffians, often officials, having within the intervening forty-eight hours seized her and outraged her to death. Others would be abducted, and, having for weeks been subjected to the loathsome lusts of lawless Kurds, would end by abjuring their God and embracing Islam; not from any vulgar motive of gain, but to escape the burning shame of returning home as pariahs and lepers to be shunned by those near and dear to them for ever. Little girls of five and six were frequently forced to be present during these horrible scenes of lust, and they, too, were often sacrificed before the eyes of their mothers, who would have gladly, madly accepted death, ay, and damnation, to save their tender offspring from the corroding poison.

One of the abducted young women who, having been outraged by the son of the Deputy-Governor of Khnouss, Hussni Bey, returned, a pariah, and is now alone in the world, lately appealed to her English sisters for such aid as a heathen would give to a brute, and she besought it in the name of our common God, Lucine Mussegh—this is the name of that outraged young woman whose Protestant education gave her, as she thought, a special claim to act as the spokeswoman of Armenian mothers and daughters—Lucine Mussegh besought, last March, the women of England to obtain for the women of Armenia the *privilege* of living a pure and chaste life! This was the boon which she craved—but did not, could not, obtain. The interests of “higher politics,” the civilising missions of the Christian Powers are, it seems, incompatible with it! “For the love of the God whom we worship in common,” wrote this outraged, but still hopeful, Armenian lady, “help us, Christian sisters! Help us before it is too late, and take the thanks of the mothers, the wives, the sisters, and the daughters of my people, and with them the gratitude of one for whom, in spite of her youth, death would come as a happy release.”

Neither the Christian sisters nor the Christian brethren in England have seen their way to comply with this strange request. But it may perhaps interest Lucine Mussegh to learn that the six Great Powers of Europe are quite unanimous, and are manfully resolved, come what will, to shield his Majesty the Sultan from harm, to support his rule, and to guarantee his kingdom from disintegration. These are objects worthy of the attention of the Great Powers; as for the privilege of leading pure and chaste lives—they cannot be importuned about such private matters.

What astonishes one throughout this long, sickening story of shame and crime is the religious faith of the sufferers. It envelops them like a Nessus' shirt, aggravating their agonies by the fear it inspires that they must have offended in some inexplicable way the omnipotent God who created them. What is not at all wonderful, but only symptomatic, is the mood of one

of the women, who, having prayed to God in heaven, discovered no signs of His guiding hand upon earth, and whose husband was killed in presence of her daughter, after which each of the two terrified females was outraged by the band of ruffians in turn. When gazing, a few days later, on the lifeless corpse of that beloved child whom she had vainly endeavoured to save, that wretched, heart-broken mother, wrung to frenzy by her soul-searing anguish, accounted to her neighbours for the horrors that were spread over her people and her country by the startling theory that God Himself had gone mad, and that maniacs and demons incarnate were stalking about the world!

Such, in broad outline, has been the *normal* condition of Armenia ever since the Treaty of Berlin, owing at first to the disastrous action and subsequently to the equally disastrous inaction of the British Government. The above sketch contains but a few isolated instances of the daily commonplaces of the life of Armenian Christians. When these have been multiplied by thousands and the colours duly heightened, a more or less adequate idea may be formed of the hideous reality. Now, during all those seventeen years, we took no serious step to put an end to the brigandage, rapes, tortures, and murders which all Christendom agreed with us in regarding as the *normal* state of things. No one deemed it his duty to insist on the punishment of the professional butchers and demoralisers, who founded their claims to preferment upon the maintenance of this inhuman system, and had their claims allowed, for the Sultan, whose intelligence and humanity it was the fashion to eulogise and admire, decorated and rewarded these faithful servants, making them participants in the joy of their lord. Indeed, the utter perversion of the ideas of justice and humanity which characterised the views of European Christendom during the long period of oppression and demoralisation has at last reached such a pitch that the Powers have agreed to give the Sultan a "reasonable" time to *re-establish once more the normal state of things*.

The Turks, encouraged by the seventeen years' con-

nivance of the only Power which possessed any formal right to intervene in favour of the Armenians, and confident that the British nation was a consenting party to the policy of sheer extermination which was openly proclaimed again and again, organised a wholesale massacre of the Christians of Sassoon. The particular reason for this sweeping measure lay in the circumstance that the Armenian population in that part of the country consisted of the hardest, bravest, and most resolute representatives of the race, and that their proportion to the Mohammedans there was more than twice greater than elsewhere. The systematic Turkeries which had impoverished and depopulated the other less favoured districts were consequently of little avail in Sassoon; therefore, a purgative measure on a grandiose scale was carefully prepared, for a whole year before, by Imperial officials, whose services the Sultan has since nobly requited.

The preparations were elaborate and open. The project was known to and canvassed by all. A long report was addressed by the Abbot of Moush, Kharakhanian, to the British representative at Erzeroum, informing him of this inhuman plan, proving its real existence, and appealing to the people of England to save their Christian brethren. But international comity forbade us to meddle with the "domestic affairs of a friendly Power," and the massacre took place as advertised. Momentary glimpses of the blood-curdling scenes, as described by Turkish, Kurdish, and Armenian eye-witnesses, have since been vouchsafed us; not by the Government, which "pigeon-holed" the reports of its consuls, but by the Press. And in these dissolving views we behold long processions of misery-stricken men and women, bearing witness to the light invisible to them, as they move onward to midnight martyrdom amid the howls of their frantic torturers. The rivulets were choked up with corpses; the streams ran red with human blood; the forest glades and rocky caves were peopled with the dead and the dying; among the black ruins of once prosperous villages lay roasted infants by their mangled mothers' corpses; pits were

dug at night by the wretches destined to fill them, many of whom, flung in while but lightly wounded, awoke underneath a mountain of clammy corpses, and vainly wrestled with death and with the dead, who shut them out from light and life for ever.

It was then that our present Ambassador at Constantinople took action and displayed those remarkable gifts of energy and industry to which the Prime Minister lately alluded with pride. It was owing to his enlightened initiative and indefatigable perseverance that the unfortunate Armenians. . . . But what, ask the Armenians, have we to feel grateful for? What act of clemency, what deed of humanity, do we owe to British intervention?

The British Ambassador, however, did his best. He prosecuted inquiries, studied reports, made energetic representations to the Sultan, and at last carried the appointment of a Commission of investigation. An excellent result, apparently, and the beginning of much else. Yes, but on one condition—viz., that the British Government, before beginning this arduous work, saw its way to bring it to a successful issue, and, having irritated the Turks and Kurds to fury against the Armenians by this foreign intervention, were resolved not to abandon the Christians to the mercies of the Moham-medans without foreign protection. Otherwise it was only too clear that our tardy action would turn out to be a piece of inexcusable inhumanity. This view was expressed and maintained at the time by some of the leading organs of our Press. But the Government went its way unheeding. Yet while the Commission of Inquiry was still sitting at Moush the deeds of atrocious cruelty which it was assembled to investigate were outdone under the eyes of the delegates. Threats were openly uttered that on their withdrawal massacres would be organised all over the country—massacres, it was said, in comparison with which the Sassoon butchery would compare but as dust in the balance. And elaborate preparations were made—ay, openly made, in the presence of consuls and delegates—for the perpetration of these wholesale murders;

and in spite of the warnings and appeals published in England nothing was done to prevent them.

In due time they began. Over 60,000 Armenians have been butchered, and the massacres are not quite ended yet. In Trebizond, Erzeroum, Erzinghan, Has-sankaleh, and numberless other places the Christians were crushed like grapes during the vintage. The frantic mob, seething and surging in the streets of the cities, swept down upon the defenceless Armenians, plundered their shops, gutted their houses, then joked and jested with the terrified victims, as cats play with mice. As rapid whirling motion produces apparent rest, so the wild frenzy of those fierce fanatical crowds resulted in a condition of seeming calmness, composure, and gentleness which, taken in connection with the unutterable brutality of their acts, was of a nature to freeze men's blood with horror. In many cases they almost caressed their victims, and actually encouraged them to hope, while preparing the instruments of slaughter.

The French mob during the Terror were men—nay, angels of mercy—compared with these Turks. Those were not insensible to compassion; in these every instinct of humanity seemed atrophied or dead. In Trebizond, on the first day of the massacre, an Armenian was coming out of a baker's shop, where he had been purchasing bread for his sick wife and family, when he was surprised by the raging crowd. Fascinated with terror, he stood still, was seized, and dashed to the ground. He pleaded piteously for mercy and pardon, and they quietly promised it; and so grim and dry was the humour of this crowd that the trembling wretch took their promise seriously and offered them his heartfelt thanks. In truth they were only joking. When they were ready to be serious they tied the man's feet together, and taunted him, but at first with the assumed gentleness that might well be mistaken for the harbinger of mercy. Then they cut off one of his hands, slapped his face with the bloody wrist, and placed it between his quivering lips. Soon afterwards they chopped off the other hand, and inquired whether

he would like pen and paper to write to his wife. Others requested him to make the sign of the cross with his stumps, or with his feet, while he still possessed them, while others desired him to shout louder that his God might hear his cries for help. One of the most active members of the crowd then stepped forward and tore the man's ears from his head, after which he put them between his lips, and then flung them in his face. "That Effendi's mouth deserves to be punished for refusing such a choice morsel," exclaimed a voice in the crowd, whereupon somebody stepped forward, knocked out some of his teeth, and proceeded to cut out his tongue. "He will never blaspheme again," a pious Moslem jocosely remarked. Thereupon a dagger was placed under one of his eyes, which was scooped clean out of its socket. The hideous contortions of the man's discoloured face, the quick convulsions of his quivering body, and the sight of the ebbing blood turning the dry dust to gory mud, literally intoxicated these furious fanatics, who, having gouged out his other eye and chopped off his feet, hit upon some other excruciating tortures before cutting his throat and sending his soul "to damnation," as they expressed it. These other ingenious pain sharpening devices, however, were such as do not lend themselves to description.

In Erzeroum, where a large tract of country, from the lofty mountains of Devi Boyen to the Black Sea shore, has just been laid waste and completely purged of Armenians, similar scenes were enacted. The vilayet of Van, the town of Hassankaleh, and numerous other places have been deluged with blood, and polluted with unbridled lust. A man in Erzeroum, hearing the tumult, and fearing for his children, who were playing in the street, went out to seek and save them. He was borne down upon by the mob. He pleaded for his life, protesting that he had always lived in peace with his Moslem neighbours, and sincerely loved them. The statement may have represented a fact, or it may have been but a plea for pity. The ringleader, however, told him that that was the proper spirit, and

would be condignly rewarded. The man was then stripped, and a chunk of his flesh cut out of his body, and jestingly offered for sale: "Good fresh meat, and dirt cheap," exclaimed some of the crowd. "Who'll buy fine dogs' meat?" echoed the amused bystanders. The writhing wretch uttered piercing screams as some of the mob, who had just come from rifling the shops, opened a bottle, and poured vinegar or some acid into the gaping wound. He called on God and man to end his agonies. But they had only begun. Soon afterwards, two little boys came up, the elder crying, "*Hairik, Hairik*,"* save me! See what they've done to me!" and pointed to his head, from which the blood was streaming over his handsome face, and down his neck. The younger brother—a child of about three—was playing with a wooden toy. The agonising man was silent for a second and then, glancing at these, his children, made a frantic but vain effort to snatch a dagger from a Turk by his side. This was the signal for the renewal of his torments. The bleeding boy was finally dashed with violence against the dying father, who began to lose strength and consciousness, and the two were then pounded to death where they lay. The younger child sat near, dabbling his wooden toy in the blood of his father and brother, and looking up, now through smiles at the prettily-dressed Kurds, and now through tears at the dust-begrimed thing that had lately been his father. A slash of a sabre wound up his short experience of God's world, and the crowd turned its attention to others.

These are but isolated scenes revealed for a brief second by the light, as it were, of a momentary lightning flash. The worst cannot be described. And, if it could be, no description, however vivid, would convey a true notion of the dread reality. At most of these manifestations of bestial passion and delirium the Sultan's troops, in uniform, stood by as delighted spectators when they did not actually take an active part as zealous executioners.

* Father, father.

And these are the Turks, whom unanimous Europe has judged worthy of continuing to govern and guide the Christians of Asia Minor. True, the Powers have courteously signified their desire, and the Sultan has graciously pledged his "word of honour" that these massacres shall cease. His Majesty, in fact, undertakes, if a reasonable time be given him, to re-establish the *normal* state of things in Turkish Armenia; and we know that that *normal* condition implies the denial to Christians of the fundamental rights of human beings, the refusal of elementary justice, the prevalence of universal violence and brutality, the abolition of womanly purity, the disintegration of the family, the rape of tender children—in a word, a system of "government" for which the history of the world affords no parallel.

Yet unanimous Europe, we are told, entertains no doubt that the true interests of Christendom demand that Turkish rule, as thus understood, should be maintained. And, with the genuine interests of Christianity at heart, the Great Powers are agreed to maintain it, in God's name.

If the refusal of the Powers to compel the Mohammedans of Turkey to respect the manhood, the motherhood, and maidenhood of their Christian fellow-subjects could be, and had been, based upon their religious reluctance to employ force even against superlative evil, one might question the wisdom of such forbearance, but it would be impossible to withhold respect from the principle underlying it. But such is not the plea. Those same Governments who persistently proclaim Christianity on the one hand and unblushingly support the fiendish torturers of Christians in Turkey on the other, are eager to blow each other's Christian subjects in thousands off the face of the earth—ay, and to invoke God's blessing on the work over and above.

But indefensible as the conduct of Continental nations may appear to us, it is only fair to say that none of them was pledged specially and solemnly to see justice done to the Armenians; none of them broke any solemn promise by conniving for seventeen years at every species of human villainy in Asia Minor, nor

could any of them reproach themselves with having roused the sleeping devils, lashed them to fury against the Armenians, and then left the latter to be trampled upon, burned, disembowelled, and pitchforked into eternity.

This unenviable rôle was reserved for Great Britain. Is it to be further persisted in? And if it is, are we, as Christians—nay, as men—to give the approval of silence to a line of conduct that would disgrace a tribe of heathens? Is there any political advantage so important and so seductive that the hope of ultimately securing it should harden our hearts to utter insensibility to the laws of God, the promptings of conscience, the inborn instincts of healthy human nature? To some, even among us, it may perhaps seem possible to imitate the Christian States of Continental Europe and keep the standard of true morality hidden away, to be applied only to bygone times and buried generations. But surely the bulk of normal Englishmen are still capable of assuming a definite attitude towards contemporary crimes, even though they have a political aspect, without staggering and reeling from the centre of Christianity to the distant and dangerous circumference.

It cannot be too clearly stated nor too widely published that what is asked for is not the establishment of an Armenian kingdom or principality, not a "buffer State," not even Christian autonomy in any sense that might render it offensive or dangerous to any of the Powers of Europe; but only that by some *efficacious* means the human beings who profess the Christian religion in Anatolia and who professed and practised it there for centuries before the Turks or Kurds were heard of, shall be enabled to live and die as human beings, and that the unparalleled crimes of which for the past seventeen years they have been the silent victims, shall speedily and once for all be put a stop to.

What serious hope is there that the lot of the Armenians will be bettered in the future? The question of the promised reforms has already ceased to be actual. The Grand Vizier, explaining lately his reasons for not

publishing the Sultan's recent undertaking to better the condition of the Christians, alleged, and very truly alleged, that the present Commander of the Faithful had brought no new factor into the question that needed to be published or made known. "His Imperial Majesty," he said, "made exactly the same kind of promise, respecting the same kind of reforms, as his illustrious predecessor seventeen years ago." Exactly; and it will have precisely the same kind of results. The Christian Powers of Europe will see to this, and England's duty is admittedly to follow the Powers. Continental jurisconsults have just given it as their conscientious opinion that any special reforms for the Armenians would necessarily involve a grave violation of the rights of man and of the law of God; and the jurisconsults ought to know. If this be so, the sensitive Sultan will naturally shrink from such lawlessness and godlessness and piously shelve the reforms. The reason given by these conscientious jurisconsults is intelligent enough: because to favour any one class of the population—say the Christians—to the exclusion of the others, would be to foster race hatred, to rouse religious fanaticism, and to unchain the most furious passions that now lie dormant (?) in the Mohammedan breast. They would strongly recommend—would these learned spokesmen of the Christian Powers—the introduction of wide-reaching reforms for *all* Turkish subjects, were it not that insuperable objections render even such a course absolutely impossible; for, in the first place, the Powers have no right to interfere in favour of the Sultan's *Mohammedan* subjects, who in this case would be mainly concerned; in the second place, the Turks and Kurds themselves desire no such reforms, are, in fact, opposed to their introduction; in the third place, they are utterly unripe for them; and, in the fourth place, general reforms for all would necessarily prove as disastrous as special reforms for Armenian Christians, because the Armenians, as the most intelligent and only self-disciplined element of the population, would profit by the improvements to obtain political preponderance for themselves. Things

had better, therefore, remain as they are, with the wholesale butcheries left out; that is to say, the *normal* condition of things must be re-established, which in a very few years will solve the Armenian Question by exterminating the Armenians.

And England—Christian, moral England—apparently endorses this view, and seeks to persuade herself that by combining with the Powers to carry it out, she will have discharged all her duties, general and special, to the Christians whom she solemnly promised to protect. Is it right and proper to acquiesce even by silence in such unqualifiable conduct as this? Have the tender humanities of the teachings of Jesus no longer any virtue that can pass into our souls and move us to condemn in emphatic terms the abominations which are even now turning the lives of our brothers and sisters in Armenia into tortures and their horrible deaths into the triumph of the most ferocious malignity that ever lurked in the abysses of the human heart?

If any Englishman in any walk of life, be he a Cabinet Minister or a Yorkshire boor, had been appealed to for help by the wretched woman whose little girl was outraged to death in her presence, after she had been dishonoured in the presence of her daughter, and her husband had been killed before the eyes of both, would he have taken much time to reflect before according it? Had he witnessed the living quivering Christian's flesh being offered for sale as "fresh dogs' meat," while the wretched man's children, whom he loved more than life, stood opposite him, the one with cloven skull asking for help, the other innocently plashing with his wooden toy in the red pool fed by his father's blood, would he have suspended his judgment until Continental Christians told him what opinion he should hold concerning these fiendish ferocities? Yet these are the deeds which, in thousands and tens of thousands, are being perpetrated, while we rejoice and thank God that at last all Europe is unanimous—unanimous in its resolve to shield the *Turks*, the doers of these deeds, from harm.

If there still be a spark of divinity in our souls, or a trace of healthy human sentiment in our hearts, we shall not hesitate to record our vehement protest against these hell-born crimes, that pollute one of the fairest portions of God's earth, and our strong condemnation of any and every line of policy that may tend directly or indirectly to perpetuate or condone them.

AID FOR ARMENIA.

AN APPEAL FOR IMMEDIATE HELP.

From *The Outlook* (New York), January 18, 1894.

THE situation of the Armenian Christians is pitiable almost beyond expression. Leaving the political and international phases of the Eastern question out of view altogether, the entire world of humane people is urgently called upon for sympathy and assistance. This aid must be prompt to be of avail. Letters from the ravaged districts show that famine is following massacre. One letter just received from Van says: "All business and work of all kinds have been stopped for two months—which means starvation to hundreds. And, worst of all, there is no light ahead!" The misery in Harpoot, Bitlis, Erzeroum, and scores of the villages is intense, and increases as winter approaches. In this terrible need the Red Cross Society, the Armenian Relief Fund, the Evangelical Alliance, and the American Board are combining their efforts to direct the contributions of Americans into the most useful channels. So far the response has been in no way adequate to the pressing demand. As our readers know, the actual work of relief is to be undertaken by the National Red Cross Society. Miss Clara Barton, at a great meeting held last Saturday night in the First Congregational Church of Washington, announced her intention to wait no longer for the accumulation of funds, but to sail within two weeks for the scene of work. She will be accompanied, it is understood, by the financial secretary of the National Red Cross Society, Mr. George E. Pullman, by Dr. Hubbell, the general field agent, probably by Mr. Stephen E. Barton, the Second Vice-President, by Miss Bettina Hofker, Sister Superintendent of the New York Red Cross Hospital, and by several other assistants of trained ability and executive force. The collection of funds is in charge of the National Armenian Relief Fund, of which Justice Brewer, of the United States Supreme Court, is President. Branches of the Committee have been formed in many large cities, and the work of organization is being pushed rapidly forward. Information may be had from the headquarters at 45 William Street, New York. The Relief Fund Committee has already sent large sums of money and much clothing to Armenia, and reports of the distribution show that the facilities for the work are greater than many suppose. The Commit-

tee say: "If for any reason the National Red Cross should be prevented from accomplishing the work of relief through its own agency by the opposition of the Turkish Government, responsible existing agencies will be utilized, or new ones organized, so that all contributors may be assured that their gifts will as speedily as possible reach the sufferers for whom they were intended." Next week *The Outlook* will print an illustrated article on Miss Barton's personality and her connection with the Red Cross Society, and will present fully the claims of the cause upon the sympathy of the American people. Meanwhile we shall be glad to send forward any subscriptions which our readers may mail to *The Outlook*. The need is for instant financial aid. All sums sent by check payable to *The Outlook Company* will be forwarded with all possible despatch. To begin the movement, *The Outlook* itself now subscribes the sum of \$250.

The Turkish Legation gave out on Monday afternoon at Washington the following official communication: "The Imperial Government will not permit any distribution among its subjects, in its own territory, by any foreign society or individuals, however respectable the same may be (as for instance the Red Cross Society) of money collected abroad. Such interference no independent Government has ever allowed, especially when the collections are made on the strength of speeches delivered in public meetings by irreconcilable enemies of the Turkish race and religion, and on the basis of false accusation that Turkey repudiates. Besides, the Sublime Porte is mindful of the true interests of its subjects, and, distinguishing between the real state of things and the calumnies and wild exaggerations of interested or fanatical parties, will, as it has done heretofore, under its own legitimate control, alleviate the wants of all Turkish subjects, living in certain provinces, irrespective of creed or race." The reason for this extraordinary declaration is patent; if the Red Cross Society goes, with its agents, into the desolated region, the news about the desolation will assuredly come back to stir still further the already profoundly stirred hearts of Christians. But it is not true that the Porte either can or will adequately alleviate the suffering of the Armenians. A letter from Aintab, printed below, gives one illustration of the employment of American means to alleviate Armenian distress. This was both right and necessary. If in one case, why not in many? Nor is it true that such a distribution of benevolence is an interference such as no independent government can ever allow. No such case has ever before arisen, but benevolence by one nation to the citizens of another, suffering from whatever cause, is happily no longer uncommon. China did not resent such benevolence when her subjects were dying of famine. We are glad to see that the Red Cross Society is not discouraged, but proposes to go on with its work, and we trust that the pressure from Christian Powers for the admission of its ministering messengers will prove to be too strong to be resisted even by the Sultan.

THE AINTAB ATROCITIES.

The following personal letter has been received from a medical missionary at Aintab, Turkey, on the border of the devastated districts. The writer, Dr.

Caroline F. Hamilton, was a graduate of Smith College in the class of 1885, and was a worker at the College Settlement in this city before her departure for Turkey. Her calm statement of the scenes about her forms an effective appeal for aid in the general relief work of which we speak above.

AINTAH, December 4-10, 1895.

For weeks before the outbreak here, there had been much alarm felt in the city. Troops were passing through constantly on their way to the north, and in the markets and streets insults were offered to Christians, goods were taken without payment, etc., till the people kept indoors as much as possible, and the schools were closed for a few days, but afterward were opened. Had we known of events outside we should have felt far more uneasy. Our first news came from Oorfa and Marash, both sacked, and then our turn came. The morning of November 16, on going to the hospital, the cook told me that there was trouble in the city, and the horror-stricken faces of the servants confirmed the word. One glance from the widows—for the hospital stands on a hill which overlooks nearly the whole city—was sufficient to show that there was cause for alarm. A great mob was surging through the streets, to a quarter so near that we could look down on the houses being plundered and torn to pieces—could watch the mob as it filled the streets and courtyards, and could hear the yells of the Kurds and the shrieks of terror from the poor defenseless people—while all the time the constant firing of the Kurds (for they are permitted to carry arms), with, underneath all, a hoarse roar like that of wild beasts, made up a frightful combination of sounds. The poor servants who had come a few hours before from their homes in that very section were entirely demoralized, and could do nothing but cry and wring their hands, for all had left little children.

Our gates were instantly closed and barred; no one admitted except a good Moslem neighbor whom we shall always regard as our guardian angel. He begged us to take refuge in his house, but there were patients too ill to be moved, and we, of course, could not leave. The servants could not work, so terrified were they; and we two women, the only Americans on the premises, settled down to dressing patients and waiting on them, giving comfort as we could to the frightened, sorrowful people about us. It was not till night that we learned how our neighbor had held a mob at bay till the soldiers arrived, thus saving us from being sacked, if not from worse things. All day long our chief work was to comfort patients and servants, and try to keep them away from the windows. No one could go home, and we found what accommodations were possible for them all. However, nobody could sleep, the least sound startling us all.

Sunday morning (November 17) a sight met our eyes that was far from reassuring. From all directions villagers were seen flocking in toward the city, and soon they had massed down near the old castle. At every spare moment I looked to see what was forthcoming—hearing again and again a great noise as this new mob were repulsed in their attempts to gain an entrance into the city. As we were at din-

ner, they made a move toward our end of the city, and after a half-hour they had passed the guards—who were forbidden to fire—and were rushing toward the houses close at hand. Never can I forget that sight. They were not men, but beasts, wild to get at their prey. The feeling of utter helplessness and the knowledge of what we were handed over to were awful. We called together all the people who were in our house and quietly told them to go with us to the hospital, thinking it would be easier to die together. To understand how we were shut off from other people, I might here explain that every house, or group of houses, is walled in, with one large door opening out into the street. Thus our house and the hospital are in one inclosure, the girls' seminary in another, while the boys' college and professors' house are some ten minutes distant from here.

We could not see what was taking place, and only wondered that we remained safe. After a couple of hours the good old Moslem neighbor came in with the first detachment of wounded. It was a sight to sicken the bravest heart, for most of the wounds were made with axes and large knives, and little children, women, and old men as well as the young and strong had been attacked as they fled.

Dr. S— could not get over from the college, and our native physician was shut up in his house, so we two women went to work with our touring missionary, Mr. Sanders, and the nurses and even our house servants for assistants. It was a question where to begin, with a shattered leg, hands and arms nearly hewn off, heads fairly laid open, and a terrible abdominal wound all lying before us, besides over a dozen with minor injuries. By dark we had them all in beds, or in a room over our stables, cold and dreary, but comparatively safe.

It was another hard night. Our nurses, etc., had no news of the fate of their families, and could not go to inquire. We knew not whether the dreaded villagers were preparing for other attacks. All night long the northern sky was brilliant, and we knew some dreadful fate must have befallen our neighboring city, where we had dear friends. Not a sound could be heard from without, and the very silence seemed to forbode evil. If we had not had our work in those two days and nights, it would have been well-nigh intolerable.

No outbreak has occurred since November 17, save for an uprising a week from that date, which was promptly put down by the soldiers. Strong guards are all about us, and four soldiers are in the hospital—quiet men, who are very friendly.

The neighbor mentioned above has been as good as a father to us all. He and his brother, whose life was saved by a former American physician, were up night after night, afraid of some sudden raid. They secured provisions for the hospital and for us, even sitting in the bakery while the bread was being baked, for fear it would be carried away. They went for news for our people, protected the poor refugees as they went to recover what was left in their houses, and if any disturbance alarmed them when in other parts of the city, home they hurried to see that all was right here. Both the 16th and 17th they saved our premises and the Seminary.

November 19 those wounded three days before were brought in in squads by the soldiers, who had received orders to hunt them up in the stables and holes whither they had crawled. In two days over seventy were registered.

I never saw such a sight in my life. Covered with blood which had dried on head, hands, and clothing—weak from lack of food, from the loss of blood, and the pitiless cold—frightened so that several were wildly insane, one could not endure the sight except to go to work and try to make them more comfortable. Beds were soon full; others were glad to lie on mattresses on the floor; those half well camped down on any old cushions we could give them—some finding a lodging in our operating-room even—while some poor creatures lay on the floor in the clinic-room. The hospital has been feeding fifty-five people without one penny of income, while giving shelter, fuel, and occasional food to thirty more, who were driven from their homes. We are besieged every day by those who would gladly find shelter here, but we are so crowded now that we can scarcely turn. One poor woman saw her husband killed before her eyes by the villagers, and her house plundered of everything except two beds and two blankets. With four little children, no home, and no food, she is utterly heart-broken. Another woman, whose husband was so badly injured that his arm had to be amputated, said that this was the first winter since their marriage that they had been able to put in their wheat, charcoal, etc. She used to "pat the box" where these were stored, so glad was she at their prosperity. Now all is gone, and the wage-earner crippled for life. She, her old mother, and her sister have but one pair of old slippers between them.

These are only instances.

The churches and school buildings are filled with women and children, cold and hungry, the husbands and fathers in prison or dead. Efforts are being made to provide food and clothing, but industry is paralyzed, and only a few have means to help, and there are multitudes to be cared for. Scarcely a Christian shop but has been plundered, and there is no capital to begin with if confidence is restored. Houses are not only sacked, but even doors and window-sashes are carried away. With winter before us, it almost seems better had the utter annihilation of some other regions been the lot of these poor people, and not the hopeless poverty into which they are plunged—and yet that is a cruel thing to say. Except for the few wealthy ones, and the few who have assured salaries in our schools and families, all are plunged into destitution.

ARMENIA'S SUFFERING.

From *The Evangelical Churchman* (Toronto), January 16, 1896.

Canon Gore, in a recent sermon on the "Efficacy of Prayer," said: "There is one object very specially—one object, one fact, or set of facts, the thought of which, as it seems to me at the present moment, rises into one's mind to check even the springs of natural joy. I suppose you will not be surprised if what I am

meaning is the present continued massacre of that unhappy people, the Armenians. That an ancient nation, an ancient Christian church like that, should be apparently on the way to be gradually exterminated would naturally claim our prayers under any circumstances ; but it seems to me that, in all we read about that matter, the peculiar obligations under which we lie to them are continually kept out of sight. We all know, if we think, how it was that seventeen years ago they were on their way, as it seemed probable, to obtain liberty and good government through the influence of Russia. We intervened to prevent the conclusion of the treaty of San Stefano, because it was contrary to our policy to allow that predominance of Russian interests. By the treaty of Berlin, and by the Convention of Cyprus, we obtained one political end. That is, we stopped the treaty of San Stefano ; we prevented Russia from obtaining what she was asking of Turkey. Very likely we did right ; but in order to obtain our ends we contracted a specific and definite obligation. In common with other powers, seventeen years ago we solemnly undertook to see to the introduction of adequate and necessary reforms into Armenia. At the same time, by a private treaty, we took Cyprus, and guaranteed the integrity of the Turkish Empire on the condition that they would introduce the necessary reforms among the Armenians. That was seventeen years ago. By these pledges we obtained our political ends ; we baffled the purpose of Russia ; we came home ; we spoke of peace with honour. Peace with honour it might have been if we had performed our obligations, or done anything in the least adequate towards the performance of them. But we did nothing. Sixteen years passed, and we heard of these tremendous massacres which now, after the interval of a year or more, have gone some considerable way toward the extermination of that ancient race. Now I say, and I do not think that what I am saying can be exaggerated in the case of any one who believes in a God governing the world according to truth and righteousness—I say that unless we are prepared to make sacri-

fices incomparably greater than we have made or yet show signs of making for the fulfilment of our obligation, the cry of massacred Armenia can be nothing else than a cry which brings down upon us and on our homes the curse of a righteous God. Therefore, among the objects of your prayer, I commend to you with all solemnity this afternoon this—that there may be put into the heart of our rulers a sense of the moral magnitude of our obligations adequate to the facts, and that the moral conscience of the country may be so stirred to realize what it is that we have promised to do, that the force of moral feeling may provide a leverage which is necessary to make possible what, through the manifold delays of European concert, is likely to be postponed till the time when there is no longer place or room for action."

THE WIPING OUT OF ARMENIA. .

From *The Evangelist* (New York), Presbyterian.

Appeal of the Evangelical Alliance for the United States to the Churches of America :

The Turkish threat to wipe out Armenia in Armenian blood is being fulfilled, and fire and sword have prepared the way for famine. Husbands and fathers have been murdered, homes pillaged and burned, crops destroyed, and flocks and herds slaughtered. Stripped even of their clothes, shelterless women and children have been left to freeze and starve. Before aid can reach remote and mountainous districts, even with our best endeavors, many must perish. One of the most trustworthy authorities in Turkey writes : " Four hundred thousand Armenians are facing the alternative of starvation or conversion to Islam."

Such misery appeals to every one in the name of our common humanity, but since Armenians have suffered as Christians, they have special claims upon the

sympathy and beneficence of the churches. Moreover the distress in Turkey peculiarly appeals to us as Americans because the perils and destitution of Armenians are shared by missionaries who are our own fellow-citizens.

The Evangelical Alliance for the United States therefore calls upon the Christian churches of America to minister to the relief of their Armenian brethren. To meet instant necessities the National Committee should be enabled to cable large sums of money immediately. When thousands are starving, every day lost in sending relief lengthens the death list.

It is, therefore, earnestly urged that every church make an offering for this object during the month of January. Money may be sent to Brown Brothers and Company, Treasurer of the National Armenian Relief Committee. Correspondence in reference to this work may be addressed to the Committee, 45 William Street, New York City. The administration of relief will be undertaken by the American Red Cross Society.

In behalf of the Evangelical Alliance for the United States,

WILLIAM E. DODGE, President,
JOSIAH STRONG, General Secretary.

THE EVERLASTING REALITY OF RELIGION.*

BY JOHN FISKE, LL.D.

From *The Christian Register* (Boston), December 12, 1895.

IN the English-speaking world there has never been any such divorce between rationalism and religion as in France; and among the glories of English literature are such deeply reverent and profoundly philosophical writings as those of Hooker and Chillingworth, Butler and Paley, and, in our own time, of Dr. Martineau. Nowhere in history, perhaps, have faith and reason been more harmoniously wedded together than in the history of English Protestantism. But the disturbance

* An Essay delivered before the Boston Unitarian Club.

that affected France in the age of Voltaire now affects the whole Christian world, and every question connected with religion has been probed to depths of which the existence was scarcely suspected a century ago. One seldom, indeed, hears the mockery in which the old French writers dealt so freely. That was an ebullition of temper called forth by a tyranny that had come to be a social nuisance. The scepticism of our day is rather sad than frivolous: it drags people from long-cherished notions in spite of themselves; it spares but few that are active-minded; it invades the church, and does not stop in the pews to listen, but ascends the pulpit and preaches. There is no refuge anywhere from this doubting, testing spirit of the age.

In the attitude of civilized men toward the world in which we live, the change of front has been stupendous. The old cosmology has been overthrown in huddling ruin. Attacks upon old doctrines multiply; and rituals, creeds, and Scriptures are overhauled and criticised until a young generation grows up, knowing nothing of the sturdy faith of its grandfathers save by hearsay, for it sees everything in heaven and earth called upon to show its credentials.

The general effect of this intellectual movement has been to discredit more than ever the Latin idea of God as a power outside of the course of nature, occasionally interlarding with it. In all directions the process of evolution has been discovered, working after similar methods; and this forces upon us the belief in the unity of nature. We are thus driven to the Greek conception of God as the Power working in and through nature, without interference or infraction of law. The element of chance, which some atheists formerly admitted into their scheme of things, nobody would now waste his time in theorizing about,—a fortuitous concourse of atoms. We have so far spelled out the history of creation as to see that all has been done in strict accordance with law. The method has been the method of evolution; and, the more we study it, the more do we find that one part of the story never gives the lie to another part.

So beautiful is all this orderly progression, so satisfying to some of our intellectual needs, that many minds are inclined to doubt if anything more can be said of the universe than that it is a reign of law, an endless aggregate of co-existences and sequences. When I say that one star attracts another star, we do not really know that there is any pulling in the case. All we know is that a piece of cosmical matter, in the presence of another piece of matter, alters its space-relations in a certain specified way. Among the co-existences and sequences there is an order which we can detect, and a few thinkers are inclined to maintain that this is the whole story. Such a state of mind, which rests satisfied with a mere body of observed facts, without seeking to trace their ultimate implications, is a characteristic of what Auguste Comte called Positivism. It is a more refined phase of atheism than that of the guests at Baron d'Holbach's; but its adherents are not many, for the impetus of modern scientific thought tends, with overpowering force, to the conception of a single first cause, or prime mover, perpetually manifested from moment to moment in all the universe. As I have elsewhere argued [in "The Idea of God"], this is practically identical with the Athanasian conception of the immanent Deity. Modern men of science have called this view of things Monism; but, when questioned concerning the immanent First Cause, they reply with a general disclaimer of knowledge, and thus entitle themselves to be called by Huxley's term, Agnostics.

Just here comes along the materialist, and asks some questions, and tries to serve on us a kind of writ of *quo warranto*. If modern physics leads inevitably to the conception of a single infinite power manifested in all phenomena of the knowable universe, by what authority do we identify that power with the indwelling Deity as conceived by Saint Athanasius? The Athanasian Deity is, to some extent, fashioned in man's image: he is, to say the least, like the psychical part of ourselves. After making all possible allowance for the gulf which separates that which is infinite and abso-

lute from that which is finite and relative, an essential kinship is asserted between God and the human soul. "By what authority," our materialist will ask, "do we assert any such kinship between the human soul and the power which modern physics reveals as active throughout the universe? Is not it going far beyond our knowledge to assert any such kinship? Would it not be more modest and becoming in us simply to designate this ever-active, universal power by some purely scientific term?" This argument is to-day a very familiar one, and it wears a plausible aspect. It is couched in a spirit of scientific reserve, which wins for it respectful consideration. The modest and cautious spirit of science has done so much for us that it is always wise to give due heed to its warnings. "Let us beware of going beyond our knowledge," says the materialist. "We know nothing but phenomena as manifestations of an indwelling force, nor have we any ground for supposing there is anything psychical in the universe outside of the individual minds of men and other animals. Moreover," he continues, "the psychical phenomena of which we are conscious—memory, emotion, volition—are but peculiarly continued manifestations of the same indwelling force which, under other conditions, appears as light or heat or electricity. All such manifestations are fleeting; and beyond this world of fleeting phenomena we have no warrant, whether in consciousness or common sense, for supposing that anything psychical exists. This world, cognizable through sense, is all there is; and the story of it that we can decipher by the aid of terrestrial experience is the whole story. The unseen world is a mere figment of the fancy of primeval man." Such is the general view of things that the materialist urges upon us, with the plea of scientific sobriety and caution; and to many minds it wears a plausible aspect.

Nevertheless, when subjected to criticism, it soon loses this appearance, and is seen to be rash and hasty. In the first place, I have argued that there is no such correlation as is alleged between physical forces and the phenomena of consciousness. I have put that argu-

ment into print so many times that I will not stop to repeat it here, but simply mention the point, and go on to the second place. When we come to the denial of all kinship between the human soul and the infinite Power which is revealed in all phenomena, we shall find the materialistic theory raises difficulties quite as great as those which it seeks to avoid. The difficulties which it wishes to avoid are those which evidently encumber the attempt to conceive of Deity as personality exerting volition and cherishing intelligent purposes. Such difficulties are undeniably great: nay, we may as well confess at once that they are insuperable. Words which have gained their meaning from finite experience must inevitably falter and fail when we seek to apply them to that which is infinite. But we do not mend matters by employing terms taken from the inorganic world rather than from human personality. To designate the universal Power by some scientific term, such as Force, does not help us in the least. All our experience of force is an experience of finite forces antagonized by other forces: we can frame no conception whatever of infinite force, comprising within itself all the myriad antagonizing attractions and impulses of which the universe consists. We go beyond our knowledge when we speak of infinite force quite as much as when we speak of infinite personality. Indeed, no word or phrase which we seek to apply to Deity can be other than an extremely unsatisfactory symbol. From the very nature of the case, it must always be so; and, if we once understand the reason why, it need not vex nor puzzle us. It is not only when we try to speculate about Deity that we find ourselves encompassed with difficulties, and are made to realize how very short is our mental tether. This world, in its commonest aspects, presents many baffling problems of which it is sometimes wholesome that we should be reminded. [Here followed some examples of the difficulties of conception involved in sundry physical problems connected with the compressibility of matter, and with the luminiferous ether.] Such difficulties are not confined to theological subjects:

they confront us upon the occasion of every fresh extension of our knowledge of the physical world. What must we expect when we come to speculate upon the nature and the modes of existence of God? Bearing this in mind, let us proceed to consider the assumption that the Infinite Power manifested in the universe is psychical in its nature,—in other words, that between God and the human soul there is kinship, though we may be unable to render any theoretical account of it.

Let us consider this assumption historically and in the light of our general knowledge of evolution. Let us look at it after the manner of naturalists. It is with purpose that I use the word "assumption." As a matter of history, the existence of a quasi human God has always been an assumption, a postulate, something which men have all along taken for granted. It probably never occurred to any one to try to prove the existence of such a God until it was doubted, and doubts on that subject are very modern. Omitting from the count a few score ingenious philosophers, it may be said that all mankind—the wisest and the simplest—have taken for granted the existence of a Deity, or deities, of a psychical nature more or less similar to that of humanity. Such a postulate has formed a part of our human thinking from the primeval ages down to the present time. The forms in which it has appeared have been myriad in number, but all have been included in this same fundamental assumption.

Take away from our symbolic conception of God the human element, and that aspect of theism which has from the outset chiefly interested mankind has gone. That supremely interesting aspect of theism is part and parcel of the general belief in an unseen world in which human beings have an interest. The belief in the personal continuance of the human soul after death is a very ancient one. The savage custom of burying utensils and trinkets for the use of the deceased enables us to trace it back into the glacial period. We may safely say that for more than a hundred thousand years mankind have regarded themselves as personally interested in two worlds,—the

physical world and another world, comparatively dim and vaguely outlined, with which the psychical side of humanity is more closely connected. This belief in the unseen world seems to be coextensive with theism. The animism of the lowest savage includes both. No race of men has ever been found destitute of the belief in a ghost world. Now, a ghost world implies a personal continuance of human beings after death. These ideas are extremely crude in their symbolism, and the refinement in the conception of Deity is paralleled by the refinement in the conception of the other world. From Walhalla to Dante's Paradise, what a distance the human mind had travelled !

In our modern monotheism the assumption of kinship between God and the human soul is the assumption that there is in man a psychical element, identical in nature with that which is eternal. Belief in a quasi-human God and belief in the soul's immortality,—these appear in their origin and development to be inseparably connected. They are part and parcel of one and the same efflorescence of the human mind.

Our account of the rise and progress of the general belief in an unseen world is, however, not yet complete. No mention has been made of an element which apparently has always been present in the belief. I mean the ethical element. The savage's primeval ghost world is always mixed up with his notions of what he ought to do and ought not to do. The native of Terra del Fuego, who foreboded a snow-storm because one of Mr. Darwin's party killed some birds for specimens, gives an excellent illustration. In a tribe living on the verge of starvation, any wanton sacrifice of meat must awaken the wrath of the deities who control the weather. Thus whatever conduct the necessity of clan or tribe have prohibited soon comes to wear the aspect of sacrilege.

Thus inextricably intertwined, from the moment of their first dim dawning upon the consciousness of humanity, have been the notion of Deity, the notion of an unseen world, and the notions of right and wrong. In their beginnings theology and ethics are

inseparable : in all historical development of religion they have remained inseparable. The conceptions of primeval man have given place to conceptions framed after wider and deeper experience ; but the union of ethics with theology remains undisturbed, even in that most refined religious philosophy which ventures no opinion concerning the happiness or misery of a future human life, except that the seed sown here will naturally determine the fruit to be gathered.

We are now prepared to see what is involved in the reality of religion. Speaking historically, it may be said that religion has always had two sides. On the one side, it has consisted of a theory, more or less elaborate ; and, on the other side, it has consisted of a group of sentiments conformable to the theory. Now, in all ages and in every form of religion the theory has comprised three essential elements : first, the belief in Deity as quasi-human ; second, belief in an unseen world in which human beings continue to exist after death ; third, recognition of the ethical aspects of human life as related in a special and intimate sense to this unseen world. These three elements, I should say, are alike indispensable. If any one of the three be taken away, the remnant cannot properly be called a religion. Is, then, the subject-matter of religion something real and substantial, or is it a mere figment of the imagination ? Has religion, through all these centuries, been dealing with an eternal verity, or has it been blindly groping after a phantom ? Can that history of the universe which we call the doctrine of evolution be made to furnish any lesson that will prove helpful in answering this question ?

We shall find, I think, that it does furnish such a lesson. First, let us remember that, along with the three indispensable elements here specified, every historical religion has always contained a quantity of cosmological speculation, metaphysical doctrine, priestly rites and ceremonies and injunctions ; and a very considerable part of this construction has been abolished by criticism. The destruction of beliefs has been so great that we can hardly think it strange if some critics

have taken it into their heads that nothing can be rescued. But let us see what the doctrine of evolution has to say. Our inquiry will for a few moments seem to take us far afield, but that we need not mind it we find the answer directing us homeward.

One of the richest contributions made to scientific knowledge in our day is Herbert Spencer's luminous exposition of life as "the continuous adjustment of inner relations to outer relations." The extreme simplicity of the subject in its earliest illustrations is such that the student hardly suspects the wealth of knowledge of various sorts to which it is opening the way. The most fundamental characteristic of living things is their response to external stimuli. If you come upon a dog lying by the roadside, and are in doubt whether he is alive, you poke him with a stick. If you get no response, you presently think that it is a dead dog. So, if a tree fails to put forth leaves, it is an indication of death. Pour water on a drooping plant, and it shows its life by rearing its head: this is a result of a continuous adjustment of relations within the plant to relations existing outside of it. All life upon the globe, whether psychical or physical, represents continued adjustment of inner to outer relations: the degree of life is low or high, according as the correspondence between internal and external relations is simple or complex, perfect or imperfect. The whole progression of life upon the globe, in so far as it has been achieved through natural selection, has consisted in the preservation and propagation of those living creatures in whom the adjustment of inner relations to outer relations is most successful. This is only a more descriptive way of saying that natural selection is equivalent to survival of the fittest.

The shapes of animals, as well as their capacities, have been evolved through almost infinitely slow increments of adjustment upon adjustment. In this way, for instance, has been evolved the vertebrate skeleton, through a process of which Spencer's analysis is as thrilling as a poem. Or consider the development of the special organs of sense: among the most startling

disclosures of modern embryology are those which belong to this subject. The most perfect organs of touch are the *vibrissæ*, or whiskers, of the cat. These are merely specialized forms of such hairs as those which cover the bodies of most mammals, and which remain, in evanescent shape, upon the human skin, imbedded in minute sacs. Now, in their origin, the eye and ear are, like these, sundry specialized, differentiated hairs. The implication of these facts is that sight and hearing were slowly differentiated from the sense of touch. We seem to discern from it how, in the history of the eye, there was at first a sensitive pigment, making one spot particularly sensitive to light. Then came, by slow degrees, the increased translucence, the convexity of surface, and the multiplication of vesicles arranging themselves as retinal rods. And what was the result of all this for the creature in whom organs of vision were thus developed? There was an immense extension of the range, complexity, and definiteness of the adjustment of inner relations to outer relations. In other words, there was an immense increase of life. There came into existence new marvels for those with eyes to see,—a mighty visible world that for sightless creatures had been virtually non-existent. With the further progress of organic life the high development of the senses was attended or followed by the increase of brain development and the correlative intelligence, immeasurably enlarging the scope of the correspondence between the living creature and the outer world.

In the case of man the adjustments by which we meet the exigencies of life from day to day are largely psychical. Our actions are guided by our theory of the situation; and it needs no illustration to show us that a true theory is an adjustment of one's ideas to the external facts, and that such adjustments are helps to successful living. The whole work of education is directed toward cultivating the capacity of framing associations of ideas that conform to objective facts. It is thus that life is guided.

So, as we look back over the marvellous life-history

of our planet, even from the time when there was no life more exalted than that of *conferva* scum on the surface of a pool, through ages innumerable until the present time, when man is beginning to learn how to decipher nature's secrets,—we look back over an infinitely slow series of minute adjustments, gradually and laboriously increasing the points of contact between the inner life and the world environing it. Step by step in the upward advance toward humanity the environment has enlarged, from the world of the fresh water alga, with its tiny field and its brief term of existence, to the world of civilized men, which comprehends the stellar universe during æons of time. Every such enlargement has had reference to actual existences outside. The eye was developed in response to the outward existence of radiant light, the ear in response to the outward existence of acoustic vibrations. The mother's love came in response to the infant's needs. Fidelity and honor were gradually developed as the nascent social life required them. Everywhere the internal adjustment has been brought about so as to harmonize with some actually existing external fact. Such has been nature's method: such is the deepest law of all life that science has been able to detect.

Now there was a critical moment in the history of our planet, when love was beginning to play a part hitherto unknown, when the notions of right and wrong were germinating in the nascent human soul, when the family was coming into existence, when social ties were beginning to be knit, when winged words first took their flight through the air. This is the moment when the process of evolution was being shifted to a higher plane, when civilization was to be superadded to organic evolution, when the last and highest of creatures was coming upon the scene, when the dramatic purpose of creation was approaching fulfilment. At that critical moment we see the nascent human soul vaguely reaching forth toward something akin to itself, not in the realm of fleeting phenomena, but in the eternal presence beyond. An internal adjustment of ideas was achieved in correspondence with

an unseen world. That the ideas were very crude and childlike, that they were put together with all manner of grotesqueness, is what might be expected. The cardinal fact is that the crude, childlike mind was groping to put itself into relation with an ethical world not visible to the senses. And one aspect of this fact not to be lightly passed over is the fact that religion, thus set upon the scene coeval with the birth of humanity, has played such a dominant part in the subsequent evolution of human society that what history would be without it is quite beyond our imagination. As to the dimensions of this cardinal fact, there can thus be no question. None can deny that it is the largest and most ubiquitous fact connected with the existence of mankind upon the earth.

Now, if the relation thus established, in the morning twilight of man's career, between the human soul and the world invisible and immaterial is a relation of which only the subjective term is real and the objective term is non-existent, then I say it is something utterly without precedent in the whole history of creation. All the analogies of evolution, so far as men have been able to decipher it, are overwhelmingly against any such supposition. All the analogies of nature fairly shout against the assumption of such a breach of continuity between the evolution of man and all previous evolution. So far as our knowledge of nature goes, the whole momentum of it carries us forward to the conclusion that the unseen world, as the objective term in a relation that has coexisted with the whole career of mankind, has a real existence; and it is but following out the analogy to regard that unseen world as the theatre where the ethical process is destined to reach its full consummation.

The lesson of evolution is that through all these weary ages the human soul has not been cherishing in religion a delusive phantom; but, in spite of seemingly endless groping and stumbling, it has been rising to the recognition of its essential kinship with the ever-living God. Of all the implications of the doctrine of evolution with regard to man, I believe the very deep-

est and strongest to be that which asserts the everlasting reality of religion.

So far as I am aware, the foregoing argument is here advanced for the first time. It does not pretend to meet the requirements of scientific demonstration: one must not look for scientific demonstration in problems that contain so many factors transcending our direct experience. But, as an appeal to our common sense, the argument here brought forward surely has great weight. It seems to me far more convincing than any chain of subtle metaphysical reasoning can ever be; for such chains, however invincible in appearance, are no stronger than the weakest of their links, and in metaphysics one is always suspecting some undetected flaw. My argument represents the impression irresistibly forced upon one by a pretty broad general familiarity with nature's processes and methods. It therefore belongs to the class of arguments that survive.

Observe, it is far from being a trite repetition of the old argument that beliefs universally accepted must be true. Upon the view here presented, every specific opinion ever entertained by men regarding religious things may be wrong, and in all probability is exceedingly crude; yet the everlasting reality of religion, in its three indispensable elements, as here set forth, remains unassailable. Our common-sense argument puts the scientific presumption entirely and decisively on the side of religion, and against all atheistic and materialistic explanations of the universe. It establishes harmony between our highest knowledge and our highest aspirations by showing that the latter, no less than the former, are a normal result of the universal cosmic process. It has nothing to fear from the advance of scientific discovery; for, as these things come to be better understood, it is going to be realized, I think, that the days of the antagonism between science and religion must by and by come to an end. That antagonism has been chiefly due to the fact that religious ideas were until lately allied with the doctrine of special creation. They have therefore needed

to be remodelled and reconsidered from new points of view. But we have at length reached a point where it is becoming daily more and more apparent that, with deeper study of nature, the old strife between faith and knowledge is drawing to a close ; and thus, disentangled at last from that ancient slough of despond, the human mind will breathe a freer air and enjoy a vastly extended horizon.

CURRENT THOUGHT.

Armenia.

To the Editor of City and State :

I wish I could give you real assistance in determining the proper course for our Government to pursue in Armenia, but, as you say, it is a most puzzling question. Like every one else, I cannot withhold my sympathies from that oppressed, apparently doomed, people. The blood of every Christian man must tingle as he reads of the ravages of fire and sword, and outrage amongst them. But what can be done !

There is no European concert of action in sight, and objections almost insuperable arise to the individual efforts of any one State. The Armenian frontier is guaranteed against Russia by Great Britain, under the convention of 1878. Russian intervention, as every one believes, would be purely selfish ; would simply mean another slice of Asia Minor. Of such aggrandizement England and Italy are naturally afraid. Thus Russian action seems impossible, except at the cost of war, or with England's consent. Intervention and protection really belong under treaty to Great Britain, but she would have Russia to reckon with ; she has the Mohammedans in India to consider ; she has

trouble enough elsewhere on her shoulders, so that English action is unlikely.

As for ourselves, the Sultan would not care the snap of his fingers for our mere remonstrance. Intervention on the ground of humanity is as much our right as it is the right of any other country. We should have the advantage of being independent of the European system with its balance of power principle. The Porte would be conscious of our entire disinterestedness, as well as of our position outside of European jealousies. On the other hand, to intervene, singly or with others, would be contrary to our traditional policy of keeping free from foreign political entanglements. And I do not believe we have the naval strength to do it successfully. A failure would be worse than silence.

Intervention is no duty of ours, though it may be a right. We have a duty, however ; the protection of the persons and property of our citizens. We owe the fulfilment of this before we owe anything to the Armenians. If the lives of any Americans seem to be endangered we can send ships of war to the nearest Mediterranean ports and offer protection, even an escort to those

near by in the interior. If property of Americans has been destroyed we should press claims for damages through our Minister resident, and, failing satisfaction, we might, after reasonable delay, seize an equivalent—*e.g.*, the customs in Smyrna.

Any movement of ours upon Constantinople itself would probably be unfortunate on account of :

1. The fortifications of the Dardanelles.

2. The prohibition of their passage to foreign war ships ; if ours violated this, Russia might insist on an equal privilege and an embroilment with the powers result.

3. The very great risk of an organized massacre of all our citizens resident in the Ottoman Empire. This last might result from any naval demonstration, even when made plainly only to collect damages. Several courses may be suggested as possible :

(a) Russia, with the connivance of Germany, may seize Armenia in spite of England.

(b) Russia may be permitted by England to intervene for a time only and under conditions.

(c) England may intervene alone in accordance with her treaty obligations.

(d) The United States might offer England all assistance in its power and back up her intervention.

(e) The United States might station ships at several ports in Asia Minor for the protection of its citizens, and intervene alone if opportunity offered.

(f) The United States may press its claims to damages diplomatically and use no display of force for any purpose, without any claims to prophetic vision. I think (f) promises best for us and our citizens who are resident in Turkey, and (a) best for the Armenians themselves. Russia has adjoining territory, and could reach

the scene of the troubles, while probably no mere naval demonstration by any country could be effective.

As you see, there is nothing new in the ideas here set forth, and nothing hopeful. The Armenian question really depends upon the wider question of the eventual fate of Turkey. That may be determined soon ; it may be postponed for some years ; humanly speaking, it cannot be very far off.

THEODORE S. WOOLSEY.

Yale University, January 11, 1896.

Islam or Death.

THE Moslem has thrown down the gage of battle. All pretense of political danger has disappeared. It is no longer a question of revolutionists, Armenian or any other. The fight is between Islam and Christianity. A situation far worse than that which stirred Europe to the Crusades faces Christendom to-day. It is no mere site dear to Christian memories that is in danger ; it is the life of a Christian people ; and the preservation of that life has become the test of the loyalty to their faith of every other Christian nation of the world. To-day, in wide sections of the Turkish Empire, where only a few short months ago there were multitudes of Christian churches and thousands of Christian families, the churches have been turned into mosques, and the one alternative offered the worshipper has been "Islam or Death."

Thousands have chosen death ; and from every section of the Empire, from mountain and from plain, from city and from village, comes an ever-increasing roll of names of those who have laid down their lives rather than dishonor their Lord. Pastors, preach-

ers, teachers, pupils, have gone to swell the number of those who through great tribulation have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. And what of the thousands of others? Read the opening letter in our missionary columns this week? Is it any wonder that so many have yielded? No sadder picture has ever been drawn than that of strong men going through the forms of a false faith in agony of soul to preserve not their own lives but the lives, and still more the honor, of those dearer to them than life itself. The silence over that plain of Harpût, in the mountains of Boh-tan, on the slopes of the Taurus, is the silence of death—death not merely physical but moral; and for that death who is responsible?

First the Turk. Pledges innumerable have been broken, and from palace and from mosque have gone forth the orders that have stirred the vilest passions and the most unrestrained ferocity. Second the Christian Powers. Upon England, Christian England; upon Russia, Christian Russia; upon Germany, Christian Germany; upon Austria, France, and Italy; upon America, Christian, freedom-loving America, rests the weight of responsibility, not merely for the lives of those who are dead, for the honor of those who have been outraged, but for the souls that have been crushed.

The cries for mercy, the wails of despair, the groans of men, women and children deserted by the very people who have pledged themselves for their relief, rise before God in condemnation of the selfish treachery of those who profess the faith of Christ.

The chief responsibility must rest upon Emperor William and the Czar. Either by a word could make another massacre impossible, could compel the restoration

of the ruined altars. Not a Greek has been touched; Armenians have been massacred by the thousand. Why? Because Russia protects the Greek, and England and Germany are divided in their counsels. Upon those who prevent their united action rests the terrible responsibility, and at their hands their souls will be required at the last day.—*The Independent*, N. Y. (Undenon.).

What is Being Done.

THE following extracts from the Report of the Armenian Industrial Relief Bureau at Van show what is being done, and how:

"The fact that this relief work was demanded and begun in mid-summer, a time when, if ever, a people whose fortunes are bound up in the soil should be able to keep the wolf from the door, is an eloquent proof of the sad state of affairs among the Christian inhabitants of Armenia. In mid-summer of a year of exceptional agricultural prosperity, so great was the number of those destitute of daily bread that we were forced to begin relief work. The plan of this work is to aid without pauperizing, and to utilize a part of the great number of workers who are idle and starving because there is no work to be had, and whose discouragements and demoralization are almost more regrettable than their physical misery.

"Under the primitive conditions which Moslem rule has preserved, a large portion of the people of both cities and villages are conversant with the various processes of the manufacture of coarse cotton and woollen fabrics. Armenia is a great wool-producing country, while abundant cotton is brought from Persia. This suggests a simple solution of the work problem. Bags of wool were

bought, weighed out into pound portions, and whenever a woman came begging for help or work, her case was investigated, her name registered, and she was given wool to card and spin; on the return of the thread, it was weighed and examined as to quality, the woman was paid at a rate estimated to supply her with bread, and she was given another lot of wool. The giving of two or three lots in this way was enough to bring down on us a crowd, and speedily we found a large business flooding in upon us, one demanding good organization and a corps of distributors. Cotton was added to our supplies, and all the process and tricks of the two trades were investigated, and every attempt was made to put the enterprise on a sound business basis. Infinite watchings were necessary in guarding against impostors, and in preventing petty thieving and unfaithfulness on the part of those who took work. The medical work had given us acquaintance with the people, and from our ex-patients we were able to select at once those for whom our hearts had ached to help gain a living. A good corps of helpers was soon organized: men to keep the door—and it often took three men to do this—against the clamoring crowd; men to receive and weigh the wool, cotton, and thread; men for the various demands of the Central Bureau. For the first two months the work was accommodated in our house (this is written by a medical missionary), in the rooms used as a dispensary, and we were in a state of siege from morning to night. The long lower hall was devoted to cotton-carders, the twang of whose primitive cards and the dust of whose work filled the house from early morning till dark, while a crowd of wretched men and wom-

en was never absent. The thread was given by weight to weavers who were out of work and in dire poverty; the woven goods were received by weight, and the weavers were paid with due regard to the needs of their families. To the children, and to some who were too weak and sick to do the heavier work, yarn was given to be knitted into socks.

Shortly we found ourselves in possession of a good stock of cotton clothing and woolen goods for the loose trousers worn here, and huge piles of coarse socks. The question what to do with them came to the front. The suggestion was made that this work might help and be helped by the Sassoun Relief Work, by our supplying materials for distribution there. This arrangement has been the means whereby our Bureau doubles its efficiency, thus having an assured market for all its produce.

Our goods are done up in bales here, loaded on donkeys or ox-carts, and carried down to the Lake harbor. There they are received by the miserable little sail-boats that ply on the Lake, and are taken, with prayers for insurance, to the opposite sides of Lake Van, a distance of some sixty miles. Thence they are transported by horses or carts, a journey of ten days to two or three weeks, according to the weather and other exigencies of travel in this land. The entire distance is only about 120 miles.

In this way we have already sent some 2000 pairs of socks and 1400 webs of cloth, to the value of \$950. A good market can be had here in Van for all our product, and indeed we have sold enough to bring our total sales up to \$1136.

During the past week we paid over an average of 100 persons daily. The average of wages per

capita for the week was seven piastres, or about thirty cents. This is far too small a sum to meet in most cases even the cost of bread. But, considering our small balance, and the fact that we need for wages alone some \$176 a week, we dare not increase wages, or give anything gratuitously. The intense poverty of the people is shown by the fact that these wages, small as they are, exceed from one third to one half the regular rates for the same work.

"On the other hand, the demands grow more and more urgent—desperate, I might well say; so importunate are the crowds that I often have to call a man to pass me out of the office after my work is done. The people weep, and catch my clothes, and will not let me go. It is maddening to see such misery and yet be obliged to turn a deaf ear to so much of it. We help, through our 476 workers, some 2000 souls, and this is not, in itself, a small thing. But when it is compared with the vast number of helpless poor about us it accentuates our appeal to our more fortunate fellow-Christians for larger help. . . . The cry goes up for more help. Winter cold and rains are upon us. Thousands have but the thinnest and most ragged clothing, no shoes or stockings, many no beds and most no fuel or other winter provision. Thousands never taste anything but coarse, dry bread for weeks and months at a time—and little enough of that—while, especially in the villages, hundreds have not even that and are on the verge of starvation. I doubt not that many will have actually starved before these words are read in England and America."

A private letter just received, dated Van, December 18, says that the Industrial Department is

caring for over 900 families and is feeding 2400 poor persons a day. —*The Outlook*, N. Y. (Undenomin.).

P. E. Comprehensiveness.

COMMENTING upon a recent meeting of the Catholic Club of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the New York *Christian Advocate* (Meth.) remarks: "In the course of the discussion they advocated frequent communion, observance of fast days, and the use of 'the sacrament of penance.' This is a phase of things alike instructive and amusing to those who are familiar with the history of the so-called Reformation in England. There is material in that history to justify in large measure the claims of these persons, and also an abundance of material to justify their opponents. We undertake to say, and are ready to show, that a more inconsistent history the world never saw than the history of the Established Church of England from the day that Henry VIII. broke with the Pope till this hour. The Protestant Episcopal Church has its own troubles, historically considered, and its early relations to this country and to the Church of England are as interesting as any romance. All classes of the controversy on the other side appear to be nestling or struggling in its bosom—the ritualists and the anti-ritualists, the Catholics and the anti-Catholics. Meanwhile, at the summit or at the base of the pyramid, according to circumstances, stands Heber Newton, a solitary watchman, playing upon his mandolin variations of the subjunctive mood upon doctrine, Scripture, and everything else that he touches; always on the verge of intolerable heterodoxy, but, like the boy who terrified his mother by sitting

upon the bridge with his feet in the water, certain never to plunge in. According to the comprehensive theories of some, this is as it should be. They will not regard us with disfavor for stating it as we see it, or for suggesting that the condition of affairs has a powerful bearing upon the question of our responding to the invitation to come out of the everlasting contentions of the sects into the quietness and peace which the bosom of the mother church will afford us."

Ministerial Salaries.

"THOSE who have maintained the decline of the influence of the ministry in this country, and who perhaps would not be moved by any argument based upon its moral power, must face the unanswerable fact that the salaries of ministers have steadily increased in this country, and that the minister is supported in a degree of comfort that does not compare unfavorably with the other professions. A profession which under a perfectly voluntary system the people, without constraint of any kind, consider worth supporting, cannot be said to be losing its influence in the money market; and, when we think of

the religious interest which the money raised for this purpose represents, it means a corresponding influence upon the minds and hearts, as well as the pockets, of the American people. We do not mean that all ministers get all they are worth, judged merely by commercial standards, or all that their abilities might earn if employed in some other profession; for many ministers labor for parishes that are unable to pay them financially all they are really worth, just as many doctors give their services or reduce their bills to those who are not able to pay the full rate. The worth of the minister's work can never be fully translated into terms of silver and gold. The best pay which he receives is that which comes from doing his work; and the same is true of the physician, the poet, the artist, or the mechanic. The chief attraction of the ministry must always rest in this moral and spiritual reward; it can never be simply in the loaves and fishes. We firmly believe that the better physical basis of support which the ministry has secured in this country has been attained at no sacrifice of its spiritual power."—*The Christian Register, Boston* (Unit.).

LITERARY DEPARTMENT.

BOOK REVIEWS.

CONDUCTED BY REV. CHARLES R. GILLET, LIBRARIAN OF UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

THE ARMENIAN CRISIS IN TURKEY. The Massacre of 1894, its Antecedents and Significance. By FREDERICK DAVIS GREENE, M.A., for several years a resident of Armenia. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1895. 12mo, pp. xix., 180. Fourteenth thousand.

ENGLAND'S RESPONSIBILITY TOWARD ARMENIA. By the Rev. MALCOLM MACCOLL, M.A., Canon of Ripon. London and New York : Longmans, Green & Co. 1895. 8vo, pp. 72.

The extensive massacres of Armenian Christians in the Turkish Empire, set on foot in the summer of 1894, in the region of Sassun, carried forward in Armenia and in other parts of Asiatic Turkey occupied by Armenians through the year 1895, and still in progress with apparently unabated ferocity in the year 1896, are matter of daily news, not history. Naturally the literature pertaining to them consists mainly, thus far, of newspaper and magazine articles. Of that which has taken the form of book or pamphlet, the two works named at the head of this article are among the most considerable and important.

The difficulties attending upon the discussion and even the exposition of the subject are many and great. One of them is thus stated by Mr. Greene on page xi. : "It is a very significant feature of the situation in Turkey, that people who are thousands of miles away from her, and who may never set foot there again, do not dare publicly to state the facts, lest vengeance may be taken on their families and friends still within reach of Turkish violence and intrigue." But this is only one of the difficulties. The region chosen for the inauguration of the massacres is a secluded, not easily accessible region. The work of murder was done with exceeding thoroughness, so that no eye-witness might tell the story. A cordon of fictitious quarantine, under the false pretence of the approach of cholera, was drawn around the scene of the crime. Whatever was possible was done to obliterate the traces of slaughter, pillage, and destruction. Efforts were made by bribery and intimidation to extort from men of influence in the Armenian Church and nation false testimonies exculpating the Turkish Government. In the sham inquests tardily conceded to the demand of the Christian Powers, none were permitted to take part but those implicated in the crime. For fifteen years,

in pursuance of the British policy of sustaining the Turkish Government, the reports of British Consuls, teeming with facts that might throw light upon contemporary facts, have been systematically suppressed. Newspaper correspondents have been forbidden entrance into Armenia. And to crown all, the facts alleged are so horrible, so enormous, that the faculty of believing is staggered before them. It is only to those who have some knowledge of what Turkish ferocity has done in former years, that the facts do not seem incredible.

Under these disadvantages, writing at the beginning of 1895, it is not easy to see how Mr. Greene could have followed a better method or produced a better result than he has done. In his opening chapter, he has given a series of letters written by different hands from remotely different points of the Turkish Empire. For the prudential reasons already adverted to, the names of authors and of places are withheld; but prefixed to the chapter are fac-similes of the signatures of a score of well-known citizens, chiefly of Boston, who have scrutinized the original letters and satisfied themselves of the genuineness and veracity of them. These brief documents, set side by side in chronological order, make upon any reasonable mind an overwhelming impression. They make what is well entitled "a chapter of horrors." They prove, by evidence as conclusive as ever demonstrated an historical fact, that (to use the temperate language of our author) "a gigantic and indescribably horrible massacre of Armenian men, women, and children did actually take place in the Sassun and neighboring regions about September 1, 1894, and that too at the hands of Kurdish troops armed by the Sultan of Turkey, as well as of regular soldiers sent under orders from the same source."

It ought deeply to impress the mind of the reader to be thus reminded that so few months ago it was necessary thus to persuade people, by argument and array of testimony, in the face of the impudent and mendacious denials of the Sultan and his official or

amateur defenders, that something really had happened in Armenia. Since that, the tide of testimony has set in upon us through the newspapers, until

"The heart is sick with every day's report."

Carnage, plunder, outrage, have surged about the homes of American missionaries, and their houses and schools and colleges have shared in the widespread desolation. "Murder will out." The murder *is* out.

The permanently valuable part of Mr. Greene's book is that which follows this opening "chapter of horrors." It is a general discussion of the intolerable oppression suffered by the Christian peoples of Turkey, especially by the Armenians, written, not by a traveler, but by one native to that blood-stained soil, and familiar from childhood with the language and the common life of the people, but withal well acquainted with the literature of the subject. Mr. Greene writes clearly, sometimes eloquently, always temperately and wisely, even when dealing with the most revolting forms of that which "maketh a wise man mad."

The voluminous pamphlet of Canon MacColl is of a different sort. It comes from a pen which for at least twenty years has been practised in the Eastern Question in its political relations, and which writes with a *fougue* and invective that serves almost as well as the name on the title-page to indicate the author's nationality. It draws a formidable indictment against the English nation for complicity with the atrocities of the Turkish Government, as being accessory to them both before and after the fact. The indictment is against England, and it is for England to plead to it, not for us. But the indictment against the accessory involves the making out of a case against the principal—the proof of the innumerable, unnameable crimes that are laid at the door of Turkey. And that this is done, to the point of overwhelming demonstration, no man possessing the judicial faculty, having read this pamphlet, can deny. It is all very well to speak of it as a one-sided argument; it is an argument in a one-sided case. Make what allowance you please for the author's

partiality. Nothing turns upon that question. He does not ask you to accept his judgment. He gives you evidence upon evidence. Every page bristles with citations, especially from the Blue Books. And such evidence ! of such facts !

We name only four of the points that are clearly proved against the government of the Sultan by Canon MacColl. For the proof of them, read the pamphlet.

1. The Armenian massacres are not the outbreak of fanaticism, unsuccessfully resisted by the government. They have been deliberately planned, prepared, and organized by the government, and carried into execution under orders from the Porte by government troops under government officers who have since been rewarded and decorated by the Sultan for their efficiency in the bloody work.

2. The Armenian massacres are not unprecedented or exceptional under the Turkish Government, but part of a long settled, systematic policy of extensive massacre of the Christian races for the purpose of preventing the too rapid increase of the Christian population in proportion to the Moslem. Not a decade has passed within the memory of men now living without such massacres in one part of the empire or another. Have not our fathers told us of the thirty thousand murders in 1822, in the Island of Chios (Scio), besides similar massacres at the same time in various parts of Greece ? Do we not remember the shudder that ran through the family circle as the story was read of the carnage among the Nestorian Christians on the confines of Armenia, after which the chief butcher, Beder Khan Bey, for his gallant conduct in the slaughter of crowds of helpless women and children "was promoted by the Sultan to the dignity of a pasha" ? Have we forgotten the slaughter in Lebanon, in 1860 ? or the horrors of Bulgaria in 1876 ? There is nothing unusual in this Armenian atrocity, except that it is a little overdue. And yet Christendom is *surprised* ! Why surprised ? It is only the regular antidote prescribed and administered by the Turkish system about twice in a generation, for the thinning out of the redundant sub-

ject peoples, and so checking what Dr. Bushnell has termed "the out-populating power of the Christian stock."

3. Horrible beyond all description as are these periodical massacres, they are not the worst of Turkish misrule. Let us quote from a page of Canon MacColl:

"In a speech at Croydon, in 1878, the late Lord Sherbrooke declared that English policy 'had turned the keys of hell' upon the Christians of Turkey. It was a strong expression, but was it exaggerated? What is the condition of the Christians of Armenia, as revealed in the apocalypse of horrors which I have unfolded in these pages, but that of prisoners in hell? It is not the massacres themselves, which are periodical in Turkey, that make the case so terrible. A massacre may take place under any government without necessarily proving that government unfit to rule. . . . But the massacres of Turkey belong, as I have shown, to the system of government. They are part of a deliberate policy pursued systematically under every Sultan; like the eruptions of a volcano, giving evidence before the eyes of the internal fire which is ever raging below the surface. It is the *daily* condition of the Christians all the year round that is to me so horrible. But Europe never hears of it. Apart from other horrors, let the reader try to realize in imagination all that is implied in a total want of security for life, religion, property, honor; to feel, as every Armenian householder feels, that in his neighborhood

'Never morning wore
To evening, but some heart did break;'

to live like hunted creatures, trembling at every breath of wind that stirs the leaves about them. Husbands and brothers go out to cultivate their fields in the morning, or to tend their flocks on the mountain-side, in trembling fear that they may find wife and sisters dishonored on their return; and wives and daughters part from the men of the household with the dread feeling that they may never see them alive again. Whether the fear is realized or not, it poisons the life of the entire population. And it is realized with terrible frequency." (p. 56.)

Canon MacColl has been charged by some serene critics with losing his temper and showing signs of excitement in dealing with these facts. What, in the name of God's righteousness, do these calm and even-tempered gentlemen mean? The man who can deal with facts like these *without* an excitement of passionate indignation is a man without a moral sense.

4. One more point demonstrated in this pamphlet before us is this: that under a faithful Moslem government there is no hope for any reform in the abuse of

its Christian subjects. By just so far as it is religious, conscientious, and consistent with its principles, it *must* be tyrannous, oppressive, cruel, and unjust toward Christians that are so unhappy as to be within its power. During the two reigns preceding the present, the condition of the Christian races was made in many important respects less intolerable. Under the pressure of the Christian Powers, there were abundant promises, and even some actual fulfilments of reform in the direction of religious liberty and common justice. The last two Sultans were notoriously free-thinking or indifferentist. Abd-el-Hamid is, as his apologists claim and as those who most abhor his crimes concede, a sincere, religious Moslem; and being such, he must, in his position, be a tyrant, a bloody persecutor, an infamous enemy of the human race. It is the condemnation, not of him, but of the awful delusion under the shadow of which he was born, that in all his bloody work he thinks to do God service. May the All-merciful forgive him, for he knows not what he does. But divine forgiveness to the bloody instrument of crime does not imply any duty of further human patience with the wretched moribund institution which he represents, and never so justly represents as when he is delivering over innocent provinces to murder, arson, ravishing, and pillage. The only hope of reforming the Turkish Government lies in abolishing it.

The two titles which we have above transcribed bear date, it will be borne in mind, at the opening of the year 1895. With all the accumulated horrors that they had to relate, they might, either of them, have taken for a motto the prophetic words, "All these are the beginning of sorrows." We add two titles of documents of weighty official character, the first of which is of more recent date.

Senate Document No. 33. Message of the President of the United States, dated December 19, 1895, transmitting the Report of the Secretary of State on the Turkish Outrages.

Violations of the Hatti Humayoun: a paper prepared at the request of Sir Philip Currie, British Am-

bassador to the Sublime Porte, by the Evangelical Alliance of Constantinople. New York, 1895.

The former of these documents, couched in the grave and guarded language of a State paper, and discriminating with lawyer-like care between official and unofficial, direct and inferential evidence, is a solemn and authoritative confirmation, in the light of more and more accumulated facts, of the inhuman crimes alleged against the Turkish Government.

The second of them is an exact and business-like recital of the shameless and habitual perfidy of the Ottoman Government to its solemn engagements, entered into in the year 1856, in favor of religious liberty and the common rights of humanity.

LEONARD WOOLSEY BACON.

THE HUGUENOTS AND THE REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES. By HENRY M. BAIRD, Professor in the University of the City of New York; author of the "History of the Rise of the Huguenots of France," and of "The Huguenots and Henry of Navarre." With Maps. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1895. 2 vols., 8vo, vol. i., xxviii, 556; vol. ii., xix, 604. \$5.00.

The maps mentioned on the title-page are, in the first volume: (1) "France, military divisions established by the political assembly of La Rochelle (1621), and the Huguenot cities of refuge under the Edict of Nantes (1598-1622);" (2) "Environs of La Rochelle and the Isle de Ré;" and in the second volume: (3) "The Cévennes and the seat of the Camisard War (1702)." Such maps are a necessity to one who would really master these volumes, and they are excellent. The first and last are printed with a blank extension page, so that they can be kept open while the volume is read. This thoughtful regard for the reader's comfort deserves special mention. Would that the practice of so printing maps in histories were commoner!

Besides the maps the author has provided us with an index of twenty-one full pages, double column, in nonpareil. Even a Carlyle would be satisfied.

But no mention on the title-page is made of an unexpected and most welcome phenomenon which faces the title-page of the second volume—viz., a fac-simile of the "Medal struck at Rome [1687?] to commemorate the revocation of the Edict of Nantes." The obverse has upon it the familiar face of Louis XIV., with the legend in abbreviated Latin, "Louis the Great, King of France and Navarre, Father of his Country, Restorer of Piety." The reverse represents the monarch, crowned, extending his sceptre to a kneeling suppliant, France, while he stands upon an altar's steps; the legend is, "The Roman religion restored." To have discovered this long-lost and forgotten medal is one of Dr. Baird's titles to immortality. He came across an allusion to it in an Italian book of 1688, and a search, instituted by Edmond Hugues in the numismatical collections of the National Library of France, in Paris, led to the finding of one of the medals—possibly the very one sent to Louis himself. That any such medal was struck had long been denied. Roman Catholics and all Frenchmen may well devoutly wish that Dr. Baird had never got on the track of it. A deed so dastardly as the revocation of the Edict of Nantes was fitly commemorated only by his satanic majesty, not by the Holy Father.

And yet the reader of these dignified pages will perhaps wish that the Edict had been frankly abrogated years before it was! So long as there was no intention of living up to it it had been far better to have given the Huguenots notice to quit the kingdom rather than to have sought by the most contemptible means to make the exercise of their religion a source of vexation and danger. Strange that the granddaughter of one of the Huguenot heroes who adorned the court of Henry of Navarre should have been a prime instigator to the revocation of that Edict, which constituted Henry's principal legislative glory. Yet so it was ordained that Françoise d'Aubigné, granddaughter of Theodore Agrippa d'Aubigné, and wife of Louis XIV.—though better known as Madame de Maintenon—should renounce her hereditary Protestantism and show

the proverbial bigotry and persecuting zeal of a turn-coat. Truth is stranger than fiction.

Many book titles awaken hopes which are not realized; but the volumes under review are noteworthy as giving much more than they promise in title. The purchaser—and we trust many will proudly put these books upon their shelves—will be delighted to find that Dr. Baird has carried the Huguenot history far past the eventful year 1685, when the Edict of Nantes was revoked, and has given a history of the Camisard War (1702-10), and of the Churches of the Desert (1715-87), and even down to 1802, when by the law of the 18th Germinal (April 7th, 1802), under Napoleon, the mischief wrought by the revocation of 1685 was fully repaired, as far as legislation could repair it, and under that law the Protestants of France are living to-day.

Dr. Baird has made Huguenot history his life work. He began his studies in 1862, when thirty years old; at least it was then that he set himself to the great task of recording fully and accurately the course of that memorable movement which, beginning as merely French Protestantism, has spread its beneficent influences over the whole world. If ever God was in history He was in this Huguenot history. As we look back upon it we see in its temporary triumphs in France and permanent triumphs elsewhere the plain indications of His planning. The Huguenots have had no abler or more devoted historian than Dr. Baird, and the providential preparation in his case is as plain as in the history itself. His early boyhood was spent in France and among Huguenots. His father was an enthusiastic friend of the Reformed Church of France and a noted critic of the polity and policy of the Roman Church. Yet Dr. Baird is the farthest remove from a vituperative historian. He never sullies his pages with cheap rhetoric designed to set in bad light the schismatical sister of the great Christian family. In fact, it is rare that he so far unbends as to severely condemn even the evil actions he describes. The reader wonders at the self-restraint which he maintains, and

wishes at times that the author was less calm. His own blood boils, but the author's pages register only temperate.

The first book of the two volumes under review is much less interesting than those which follow. The explanation is that it relates to those tedious and pitiful Huguenot struggles to wrest from a powerful government the political rights the Edict of Nantes assured but did not secure. The Huguenots were, after all, a small minority of the French people, and their commendation was in their religion and not their politics. When, however, their political hopes were buried in the ruins of La Rochelle (1629), they prospered marvellously for thirty years. They were a *religio illicita*, and had many secret enemies; but the fact that "as rich as a Huguenot" became a proverbial expression shows that in material respects they were unusually favored. They had not all the religious liberty they were promised by the Edict, but then they had considerable, and their lot was on the whole fairly comfortable. It is an interesting and pleasing picture which Dr. Baird gives of those thirty years.

But bigotry and pauperism hate enlightenment and thrift. Louis XIV. was a bigot, and his people were ruined by his everlasting wars. Hence the prosperous Huguenot was an aversion, and to exterminate him was a popular proposition. The Edict of Nantes stood in the way. So much the worse for the Edict. Then began the wonderful constructions put upon the Edict, with the design of showing that it did not really mean what it plainly did mean. The amazed Huguenots found themselves deprived of all religious privileges. Then came the dragonnades, that ingenious plan of securing "conversion" by rendering life unendurable, and then the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685). So the first volume closes, and as we turn its last page we hear the scamper of the persecuted Huguenots out of France. Many, however, remained. Wonderful is their story. One episode of it is fittingly told—the Camisard War (1702-10), a desperate struggle certain to fail. Of much more importance was the determined

and successful Church of the Desert, proof that true religion is indestructible. But at length, in 1787, Louis XVI. issues his Edict of Toleration, and in 1802 Napoleon establishes the present Reformed Church of France.

Dr. Baird has in six large volumes condensed the study of thirty years. He has won international and enduring fame. Now let him give us a "short history" of the Huguenots. None could do it so well as he. He has the amplest possible qualifications, and thousands in these busy days will read and profit by a single volume of Huguenot history who will not, can not, indeed, read his small library of books on the subject. And the story of the Huguenots is so interesting and so important that it is a pity that all households, orthodox Protestant and schismatic Catholic alike, should not read it in the words of the historian of the Huguenots, Henry Martyn Baird.

SAMUEL MACAULEY JACKSON.

New York.

THE JOHANNINE PROBLEM: A Résumé for English Readers. By Rev. GEORGE W. GILMORE, A.M., Professor of English Biblical Exegesis and Criticism in Bangor Theological Seminary. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication and Sabbath-school Work, 1895.

Even professional students find the mastery of the Johannine problem a laborious and often a tantalizing task, so numerous are the shades of opinion and so contradictory and complicated are the theories of authenticity, integrity, date, and relation of the fourth Gospel to the synoptics and to the other writings which bear the name of John. Meanwhile, this multifarious criticism in some form or other filters down into the circles of English Bible readers, and every pastor and every Bible student is confronted either with honest and anxious inquiry as to the real state of the case or with the cool assumption of superficial readers that the

fourth Gospel is not from the hand of John and is of much later date.

Unpracticed students, when they get even a glimpse of the vast mass of the Johannine literature and of the bewildering varieties of opinion, are appalled, and either helplessly succumb to what they cannot dispute, or fall back upon dogmatic assumptions which they cannot defend. Moreover, the most formidable assaults upon the fourth Gospel and the most thorough discussions of the Johannine problem proceed from Germany, and are inaccessible even to many who understand ordinary conversational or literary German.

Professor Gilmore, in providing for English Bible students and in cutting a straight track through the formidable jungle of Johannine criticism, has performed a real and valuable service not only for English readers, but for many busy pastors, who have little time and not always the furnishing for such investigations.

The book does not profess to be an exhaustive discussion. Its value lies in its clear indication of the really important points of the controversy; in laying down definite lines for study, and in marshalling evidence in a simple, apprehensible, and convincing fashion. The careful Greek and German student puts his acquisitions into a form which any intelligent reader can grasp. Professor Gilmore, it needs hardly be said, exhibits his familiarity with the literature on both sides of the controversy. Objections are fairly stated. The best English literature on the subject is pointed out. The book is especially valuable in showing New Testament students how to study for themselves. It is fair, it does not ignore difficulties, but it does not meet them with fallacies or platitudes. The uncritical reader may be assured that in this little treatise he has a good and truthful outline of the discussion up to date.

The author writes as one who is himself studying the question. His little book has, therefore, a value as the evolution of a process of honest inquiry rather than as a piece of special pleading for an accepted conclusion.

His inquiry results in the conviction that the Gospel is the work of John. He presents clearly and fairly the evidence which we believe to be decisive and irrefutable that the fourth Gospel was known and current by the middle of the second century, a fact which, throwing out all earlier testimonies, may be assumed without straining a point, to carry back the date of composition about to the end of the first century. We think Professor Gilmore is right in asserting that the denial of the Johannine authorship raises more difficulties than it solves.

We notice one or two points at which the author's statements seem to us a little too positive and sweeping. For instance, he says that the date of the Muratorian Fragment is "all but universally placed at 170 A.D. or earlier." The statement is not quite accurate in the light of his own words which immediately follow, that "lately there is a disposition to accept a later date." Westcott and Tischendorf placed it at 170; Reuss, 180 or 190; Weiss and Salmon at the beginning of the third century; Lightfoot thinks the date may be 190, and Sanday puts it roughly at 200.

Nor is it quite true that this fragment is "generally allowed" to be a translation from an original in Greek verse. This was an ingenious conjecture of Bishop Lightfoot, very ably sustained; but it can hardly be said to be "generally allowed."

Professor Gilmore's remarks on the traces of the fourth Gospel in the apocryphal Gospel of Peter are quite as strong as the facts warrant. It may be fairly said that a probable access to the fourth Gospel is indicated. He does not note the significant fact that the Petrine fragment presupposes the Johannine order of the narrative.

Two evident slips occur on pages 14 and 15. The date of Bretschneider's "Probabilia" is 1820, not 1830, and of course Professor Gilmore did not mean to say that Baur placed the fourth Gospel not earlier than "the second half of the first century."

MARVIN R. VINCENT.

Union Theological Seminary.

BRIEF REVIEWS.

THE general excellence of the series known as the "Expositor's Bible" is such, that one needs do scarcely more than mention the appearance of a new volume. The latest is that on *Deuteronomy*, and is the work of Rev. Andrew Harper, Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis in Ormond College, Melbourne. Thus once more an international character is given to the work, for upon its collaborators the sun never sets. The subject of discussion is broad and varied, but the author has made what promises to be as useful a volume as any of recent date in the whole series. (New York : Armstrong & Son. \$1.50.)

THE theory of evolution finds many and varied applications. It is strange, perhaps, but true that one of these is found in our versions of the Holy Scriptures. One can find proof of this thesis in a recent little volume called *The English Bible* : a sketch of its history. The author, the Rev. George Milligan, leads us along the path of improvement whose milestones are marked by the names of Wycliffe, Tindale, Coverdale, John Rogers, *alias* Matthew, Taverner, the Great Bible, Geneva versions, the Bishops' Bible, the Rheims, Douai, Authorized and Revised versions. The story is one of great interest and importance. Though very brief, the account is very succinct and clear. In one place we have lighted upon a statement that needs some change : "Taverner's translation, undertaken apparently at the instigation of Cromwell (which one ?), was published in 1539." The book is one in the excellent series of "Guild Text-Books," edited by Dr. A. H. Charteris. (New York : Randolph & Co. 30 cents.)

THERE is a considerable variety of Sunday-school lesson helps offered to teachers engaged in schools where the International Lessons are employed. One of these has come to us, covering the lessons of 1896, under the title *Practical Sunday-School Commentary*,

edited by Mrs. T. B. Arnold. It is octavo in size, neatly bound in cloth, printed on fairly good paper in legible type. Each lesson contains an introduction with notation of home readings, the text of the lesson in both versions, a commentary on the same, questions, teachings, thoughts, practical survey, and practical applications, blackboard exercises, and hints to primary teachers. As is evident, a great deal of material is here presented, and in it the busy teacher will find no small degree of assistance. (New York and Chicago : Revell Co. 50 cents.)

THREE volumes of "Studies in Theology" appeared some years since from the pen of Bishop Randolph S. Foster of the Methodist Church. He has now issued a fourth volume, octavo in size and bulky in extent, entitled *Creation : God in Time and Space*. The first feeling that one has in taking the volume in hand is that there is too much of it. In these days of rapid doing and nervous thinking, few have leisure to take so large a volume in hand, and as we have read selections here and there, for we do not pretend to have read it all, we have found a redundant verbosity and an old-time diction which, however pleasant in themselves, are not likely to find acceptance and patient perusal at the hands of the busy ministers to whom the author commends his pages. We say this with regret, for if the present Christian age has one need greater than another, it is for a clear and lucid statement of the theological belief. (New York : Hunt & Eaton. \$3.00.)

A REMARK that was impressed upon me as a boy was that "the world has ceased to expect much from its college valedictorians," and the same is often true of the sons of earth's great men. A recent volume called *Great Men's Sons*, by Elbridge S. Brooks, is a rather discouraging performance. The pictures are not all dark, but enough of them are so to make the whole rather dismal. The author has marred his pages also by the use of slang phrases, current to-day, which might better have been left where they belong, if in-

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deed they belong anywhere. The moral of the whole is that there is really no royal road to success, and that the prestige of a father's name will not suffice to remedy the shortcomings of the son. (New York: Putnam's Sons. \$1.50.)

SUBJECT INDEX TO THEOLOGICAL PERIODICALS.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS RECORD.

Af. M. E. R.	African M. E. Church Review. (Quarterly.)	Miss. R.	Missionary Review.
Bapt. Q.	Baptist Quarterly Review.	New Chr. Q.	New Christian Quarterly.
Bib. Sac.	Bibliotheca Sacra. (Quarterly.)	New W.	The New World. (Quarterly.)
Bib. W.	Biblical World.	Our D.	Our Day.
Can. M. R.	Canadian Methodist Review. (Bi-monthly.)	Prot. Ep. R.	Protestant Episcopal Review.
Chr. L.	Christian Literature.	Pre. M.	Presbyter's Magazine.
Ex.	Expositor.	Presb. Q.	Presbyterian Quarterly.
Ex. T.	Expository Times.	Presb. Ref. R.	Presbyterian and Reformed Review. (Quarterly.)
Hom. R.	Homiletic Review.	Ref. Q.	Reformed Quarterly Review.
Luth. C. R.	Lutheran Church Review.	Sunday M.	Sunday Magazine.
Luth. Q.	Lutheran Quarterly.	Think.	The Thinker.
Meth. R.	Methodist Review. (Bi-monthly.)	Treas.	The Treasury.
Meth. R. So.	Methodist Review, South. (Quarterly.)	Yale R.	The Yale Review. (Quarterly.)
Miss. H.	Missionary Herald.		

Unless otherwise specified, all references are to the January number of periodicals.

Abailard as a theological teacher. Church Q. R. (Oct.).

Abraham at Bonn. (O. H. Gates) Bib. Sac.

Agricultural depression, Conference on. (V. M. Clark) Char. R. (Dec.).

Apologetics, Christian, Recent phases of. (A. H. Huizingar) Presb. Ref. R.

Babel, Tower of. (R. W. Dale) Ex.

Balaam, prophecy of, Forgotten kingdom in a. (T. K. Cheyne) Ex.

Balfour's "Foundation of Belief." (J. D. Witt) Presb. Ref. R.

Balfour's philosophy. Church Q. R. (Oct.).

Basil of Caesarea. (W. M. Ramsay) Ex.

Bible and the newer criticism. (S. P. Rose) Can. M. R.

Bible statements, Some recent revisions of judgment concerning. (J. B. Thomas) Hom. R.

Butler, Bishop, and his censors. (W. E. Gladstone) Chr. L.

Cæsar and God. (J. Denney) Ex.

Children of the State in Massachusetts. (F. B. Sanborn) Char. R. (Dec.).

Christ, Gracious truth of. (W. H. Ryder) Ref. Q.

Christ, life of, Outline study of the. (A. M. Phillips) Can. M. R.

Christianity and the evolution of rational life. (J. T. Gulick) Bib. Sac.

Christology, New. (R. A. Webb) Presb. Q.

- Christ's prayer in Gethsemane**, Meaning of. (T. West) Chr.L.
College, Church and the. (T. W. Hunt) Hom.R.
Colored children in the District of Columbia. (H. W. Lewis) Char.R. (Dec.).
Death, Origin of. (R. C. Schiedt) Ref.Q.
Death and the resurrection, Dr. Titzel on. (C. S. Gerhard) Ref.Q.
Defective classes, Some facts about the. (A. O. Wright) Char.R. (Dec.).
Education, liberal, Study of universal history in. (A. Johnson) Af.M. E.R.
Educational crisis. ChurchQ.R. (Oct.).
Elder, ruling, Office of. (T. C. Barret) Presb.Q.
Erasmus, Relation of, to the Reformation of the sixteenth century. (J. W. Santee) Ref.Q.
Exegesis, Element of, in the Arabic version of the Bible. (W. M. Patton) Can.M.R.
Ezekiel, Holiness-code and. (L. B. Paton) Presb.Ref.R.
Feeble-minded, adult, Custodial care of the. (E. P. Bicknell) Char.R. (Dec.).
Fourth Gospel and the critics. (W. L. Ferguson) Bib.Sac.
Freeman's Life and letters. ChurchQ.R. (Oct.).
Genesis and geology. (J. Burwash) Can.M.R.
God, Kingdom of. (R. N. Burns) Can.M.R.
Gospel, Paul's summary of the. (T. W. Hooper) Presb.Q.
Greek elements in modern religious thought. (E. S. Carr) Bib.Sac.
Hebrew cosmogony. (C. B. Warring) Bib.Sac.
Hebrew poetry, Characteristics of. (F. A. Gast) Ref.Q.
Higher criticism, Prof. Sayce and the. F. W. Farrar) Ex.
History, An appeal from a verdict of. (W. E. Barton) Bib.Sac.
History, prophecy and the monuments. (J. F. McCurdy) Hom.R.
Holiness-code and Ezekiel. (L. B. Paton) Presb.Ref.R.
Holiness: when and how. (H. A. Grant) Af.M.E.R.
Holy Spirit the source of all power. (A. Sutherland) Can.M.R.
Humanity, Religion of. (W. S. Blackstock) Can.M.R.
Huxley and the "New Reformation." ChurchQ.R. (Oct.).
Intelligence, morality, and religion, Correlation of. (N. Burwash) Can.M.R.
Isaiah xxiv.-xxvii., Authenticity of. (W. W. Elwang) Presb.Q.
Jonah, Sign of. (R. R. Lloyd) Ex.T.
Judaistic Christianity. ChurchQ.R. (Oct.).
Kaftan on the truth of the Christian religion. (B. L. Hobson) Presb. Ref.R.
Lanier, Sidney, vs. Robert Browning. (G. F. Eagleton) Presb.Q.
Life culture. (R. R. Downs) Af.M.E.R.
Loofs, Friederich. (W. F. Slater) Ex.T.
Lutheran episcopate. Chr.L.
Matthew, Prophetic picture of. (A. B. Bruce) Ex.
Methodist connexionalism. (J. Van Wyck) Can.M.R.
Missions, Motive force of. (F. B. Meyer) Miss.R.
Mission work, New forces for. (E. B. Gordon) Miss.R.
Mite society. (S. E. Tanner) Af.M.E.R.
Naturalism. (D. W. Fisher) Presb.Ref.R.
New Testament canon, Beginning of the. (D. Moore) Presb.Ref.R.
Old Testament in Greek, Concordances to the. (H. A. Redpath) Ex.

- "Parliament of Religions,"** An American churchman on the. Church Q. R. (Oct.).
- Pastor's** "History of the Popes." Church Q. R. (Oct.).
- Patents**, Monopoly by. (Z. S. Holbrook) Bib. Sac.
- "Paul**, Gospel of." (F. H. Foster) Bib. Sac.
- Paul's** summary of the Gospel. (T. W. Hooper) Presb. Q.
- Persecutions**, early, Rationale of the. Church Q. R. (Oct.)
- Philosophies**, Influence of false, upon character and conduct. (R. L. Dabney) Hom. R.
- Philosophy**, Greek and German. (B. Winchester) Chr. L.
- Prayer-meeting** service. (W. Hoyt) Hom. R.
- Presbyterian** Church, American, Beginning of the. (J. A. Davis) Presb. Ref. R.
- Prophet**, What is a. (L. Abbott) Chr. L.
- Psalter**, Short studies in the. (W. E. Barnes) Ex. T.
- Rationalistics** critics, Defective logic of the. (A. J. F. Behrends) Hom. R.
- Reason**, Place of, in theology. (H. C. Minton) Presb. Ref. R.
- Reformed** Church doctrines. (S. Z. Beam) Ref. Q.
- Religion**, Everlasting reality of. (J. Fiske) Chr. L.
- Religious** Forces of the United States. (H. K. Carroll) Chr. L.
- Rome**, Rigidity of. (W. Ward) Chr. L.
- Russian** Bible. Church Q. R. (Oct.).
- Salvation** Army, Foreign missionary work of the. (R. E. Speer) Miss. R.
- Savings**, Small, and how to collect them. (E. Tapley) Char. R. (Dec.).
- Sayce**, Professor, and the critics. (S. R. Driver) Chr. L.
- Sins**, Minister's power of forgiving and retaining. (W. Rupp) Ref. Q.
- Social** and economic problems: point of view. (E. W. Bemis) Bib. Sac.
- Social** phenomena, Classification of. (A. Fairbanks) Bib. Sac.
- Social** reform, Where, should begin. (W. Gladden) Chr. L.
- Sociology**, Christian. (J. A. Quarles) Presb. Q.
- Song** of Songs in verse. (J. E. Fox) Ex. T.
- Sunday-school** in modern life. (R. Wells) Hom. R.
- Sunday-school** work and workers. (J. Strange) Af. M. E. R.
- Tracts**, Pastor's use of. (W. H. Rice) Hom. R.
- Unbalanced** people. (F. H. Wines) Char. R. (Dec.).
- Wilson**, James. (Geo. Smith) Miss. R.
- Women** of the A. M. E. Church. (I. Upshaw) Af. M. E. R.
- Wordsworth**, William. (T. W. Hunt) Bib. Sac.

CONTENTS OF RELIGIOUS PERIODICALS.

The African Methodist Episcopal Church Review.

Philadelphia, January, 1896.

Life culture.

Holiness—when and how.

Sunday-school work and workers in the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

Women of the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

Study of universal history in liberal education.

Mite society.

Bibliotheca sacra.

Oberlin, January, 1896.

Fourth gospel and the critics.
 William Wadsworth.
 Hebrew cosmogony.
 Christianity and the evolution of
 rational life.
 Abraham at Bonn.
 Gospel of St. Paul.
 Appeal from a verdict of history.
 Greek elements in modern relig-
 ious thought.
 Classification of social phenom-
 ena.
 Point of view: social and eco-
 nomic problems.
 Monopoly by patents.

**Canadian Methodist Re-
view.**Toronto, November-December,
1895.

Religion of humanity.
 Correlation of intelligence, moral-
 ity, and religion.
 Holy Spirit the source of all power.
 Bible and the newer criticism.
 Element of exegesis in the Arabic
 version of the Bible.
 Methodist connexionalism.
 Kingdom of God.
 Outline study of the life of Christ.
 Genesis and geology.

Charities Review.

Galesburg, Ill., December, 1895.

Unbalanced people.
 Some facts about the defective
 classes.
 Custodial care of the adult feeble-
 minded.
 Children of the State in Massa-
 chusetts.
 Colored children in the District of
 Columbia.
 Small savings and how to collect
 them.

Conference on agricultural de-
pression.**Christian Literature.**

New York, January, 1896.

Greek and German philosophy.
 Bishop Butler and his censors.
 Rigidity of Rome.
 Professor Sayce and the critics.
 Meaning of Christ's prayer in
 Gethsemane.
 Where social reform should begin.
 What is a prophet?
 Everlasting reality of religion.
 Lutheran episcopate.
 Religious forces of the United
 States.

**Church Quarterly Re-
view.**

London, October, 1895.

Educational crisis.
 Rationale of the early persecu-
 tions.
 Balfour's philosophy.
 Pastor's "History of the Popes."
 Freeman's life and letters.
 Abailard as a theological teacher.
 Professor Huxley and the "New
 Reformation."
 An American churchman on the
 Parliament of Religions.
 Judaistic Christianity.
 Russian Bible.

The Expositor.

London, January, 1896.

Tower of Babel.
 Prophet picture of Matthew.
 Professor Sayce and the higher
 criticism.
 Basil of Cæsarea.
 Cæsar and God.
 Concordance to the Old Testa-
 ment in Greek.

Forgotten kingdom in a prophecy
of Balaam.

Expository Times.

Edinburgh, January, 1896.

Friedrich Loofs.

"Confessions of a poet:" an
anonymous poem.

Short studies in the psalter.

Song of songs in verse.

Sign of Jonah.

The Homiletic Review.

New York, January, 1896.

Influence of false philosophies
upon character and conduct.

Defective logic of the rationalistic
critics.

Some recent revisions of judgment
concerning Bible statements.

Church and the college.

History, prophecy, and the monu-
ments.

Sunday-school in modern life.

Pastors' use of tracts.

Prayer-meeting service.

The Missionary Herald.

Missionary property destroyed at
Harpoot and Marash.

Why foreign missions should be
central.

Missionary concert.

Missionary Review.

New York, January, 1896.

The outlook: some sign of the
times.

Motive force of missions.

James Wilson.

Foreign missionary work of the
Salvation Army.

New forces for mission work.

Preacher's Magazine.

Our guide.

Love of the beautiful.

In the banqueting house.

Bad times.

Sermon preparation.

Homiletics.

**The Presbyterian Quar-
terly.**

Richmond, January, 1896.

New Christology.

Authenticity of Isaiah xxiv.-xxvii.

Christian sociology.

Office of ruling elder.

Paul's summary of the Gospel.

Sidney Lanier vs. Robert Brown-
ing.

**The Presbyterian and Re-
formed Review.**

Philadelphia, January, 1896.

Beginning of the New Testament
canon.

Recent phases of Christian apolo-
getics.

Naturalism.

Beginning of the American Pres-
byterian Church.

Place of reason in theology.

Holiness-code and Ezekiel.

Kaftan on the truth of the Chris-
tian religion.

Balfour's "Foundation of Belief."

Driver on Deuteronomy.

Gerhart's "Institutes of Theol-
ogy."

**Reformed Quarterly Re-
view.**

Philadelphia, January, 1896.

Characteristics of Hebrew poetry.

Gracious truth of Christ.

Reformed Church doctrines.

Minister's power of forgiving and
retaining sins.

Relation of Erasmus to the Ref-
ormation of the sixteenth cen-
tury.

On the origin of death.

Dr. Titzel on death and the resur-
rection.

MAGAZINES.

THE contents of THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY for January are: "One of Hawthorne's Unprinted Note-Books," Nathaniel Hawthorne; "The Country of the Pointed Firs," Sarah Orne Jewett; "The Johnson Club," George Birkbeck Hill; "A Farm in Marne," Mary Hartwell Catherwood; "The Seats of the Mighty," Gilbert Parker; "The Fete De Gayant," Agnes Repplier; "Cleopatra to the Asp," John B. Tabb; "The Children of the Road," Josiah Flynt; "Pirate Gold," in three parts, Part I., "Discovery," F. J. Stimson; "The Emancipation of the Post-Office," John R. Procter; "The Schoolhouse as a Centre," Horace E. Scudder; "The Christian Socialist Movement of the Middle of the Century," J. M. Ludlow.

THE contents of THE CENTURY for February are: "Certain Worthies and Dames of Old Maryland," John Williamson Palmer; "The Story of the Development of Africa," Henry M. Stanley; "Life of Napoleon Bonaparte," William M. Sloane; "The Palmerston Ideal in Diplomacy," Edward M. Chapman; "Three Unpublished Letters," James Russell Lowell; "How 'The Kid' Won His Medal," Thomas H. Wilson; "The Convent Under Arms," "The Wonderful Sauce," "The Night School," J. G. Vibert; "Puviss de Chavannes," Kenyon Cox; "Sir George Tressady," Mrs. Humphry Ward; "Perdita's Candle," Martha Young; "Genius," George Edgar Montgomery; "On Returning to Ullswater," Aubrey de Vere; "Pope Leo XIII. and His Household," F. Marion Crawford; "Nelson at Cape St. Vincent," Alfred T.

Mahan; "Tom Grogan," F. Hopkinson Smith.

THE COSMOPOLITAN for January contains: "The City of Dreams," Arthur S. Hardy; "Casting Down Some Great Mountains," Harry L. Wells; "Amateur Photography of To-day," W. S. Harwood; "A Jocund Feud," Maurice Thompson; "Butterflies: A Tale of Nature," James Lane Allen; "Submarine Boats," W. A. Dobson; "A Tragedy of the Great North Road," R. L. Stevenson; "The Weird Sisters," Esther Singleton; "Was George Eliot a Hypocrite?" Julien Gordon; "Ancient Lineage," Edward Harlow; "A Brief History of Altruria," Sir Robert Harton.

FEBRUARY HARPER'S contains: "The New Baltimore," Stephen Bonsal; "A Snipe Hunt: A Story of Jim-Ned Creek," M. E. M. Davis; "On Snow-Shoes to the Barren Grounds. Twenty-six Hundred Miles after Musk-Oxen and Wood-Bison," Caspar W. Whitney; "A Mother in Israel," Hjalmar Hjorth Boyesen; "St. Clair's Defeat," the Hon. Theodore Roosevelt; "Briseis," William Black; "Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc," Louis De Conte; "The German Struggle for Liberty," Poultney Bigelow; "Her Boy," Robert Stewart; "The Passing of the Fur-Seal," Henry Loomis Nelson; "Premonitions of Insanity," Forbes Winslow, M.D.

LIPPINCOTT'S MAGAZINE for February contains: "Ground Swells," Jeannette H. Walworth; "The First Days of the World," Harvey B. Bashore; "The Child and His Fictions," Elizabeth Ferguson Seat; "Domestic Service on the Pacific Slope," E. S. F.; "Fif-

teen," Marjorie Richardson; "What Men Drink," James Knapp Reeve; "Paralyzers of Style," Frederic M. Bird; "The Aerial Monasteries of Greece," Charles Robinson.

THE two hundred and eighth volume of LITTELL'S LIVING AGE opens with the issue of the week ending January 4th. Among the many valuable articles which may be already announced for the early numbers of the new year are: "Matthew Arnold in his Letters," Alfred Austin; "Muscat," J. Theodore Bent; "Corea and Siberian Railroad," from *Fortnightly Review*; "Lord Salisbury," Augustin Filon; "Kashmir," Sir Lepel Griffin; "The Migration of Birds," G. W. Bulman; "Air Car," Lieutenant B. Baden Powell; "Purcell," Frederick Crowest; "Everybody's Chance," John Habberton; "A.D. 1920," from *Contemporary Review*; "The Peasant Life of South Russia" and "The Life of Punch," from *Blackwood*.

NOTES.

In their new work, entitled "Annals of Westminster Abbey," Messrs. Cassell & Co. are issuing one of the finest and most sumptuous art volumes ever issued from the Belle Sauvage Press. The book, which has been in preparation for several years, contains over one hundred and sixty original illustrations by W. Hatherell, R.I., and H. M. Paget, who have devoted much time and study to securing for their designs historical accuracy and artistic value. The paper has been manufactured expressly for the work, and is set in new type. The text is by E. T. Bradley (Mrs. Murray Smith), and the work contains an introduction

by her father, the Dean of Westminster. Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, F.S.A., contributes a chapter on the Abbey Buildings. Nearly three thousand pounds have been expended on the production of the work. An exhibition of the original drawings prepared for the Annals, is being held at the Institute of Painters in Water Colors, Piccadilly, closing to-morrow (Saturday).

THE last lines written by M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, a few days before his death, are to be found in a notice of the first volume of the "Sacred Books of the Buddhists," edited by Professor Max Müller. They are published in the November number of the *Journal des Savants*.

MR. JOHN MURRAY has in the press a new edition of George Borrow's "The Bible in Spain," carefully revised by the late Ralph Ulick Burke, who has also added notes and a glossary.

THE *Sunday Magazine*, now under the editorship of Mr. William Canton, opens the new year with a very brilliant number. Mr. W. J. Dawson's story of Dissenting life in Devonshire, which is entitled "The Story of Hannah," opens promisingly, the second chapter being particularly good. There is an interview with Ian Maclaren, and an article by him, the first of a series to appear during the year. There are also many other attractions, and we cordially recommend the *Sunday Magazine* as the best and brightest of religious monthlies.

THE *Theologische Literaturzeitung* has an appreciative review of Professor Bennett's contribution to Haupt's "rainbow" Bible, an edition of Joshua, printed in colors to distinguish the

probable sources of the text. The reviewer, Professor Budde, of Strasburg, cannot say that the bizarre effect of the (seven) different colors is pleasing to the eye; but says that "the editor deserves the warmest thanks for the devoted carefulness with which he has

given himself to an exceedingly difficult task.

DEAN HOLE's account of his recent trip across the Atlantic will be published this week by Mr. Edward Arnold, under the title of "A Little Tour in America."

CHRONICLE, OBITUARY, AND CALENDAR.

COMPILED BY PROFESSOR GEORGE W. GILMORE, A.M.

CHRONICLE.

(Closes on the 15th.)

Nov. 14.—Meeting of the *Presbyterian Federal Council* of Great Britain, comprising the Presbyterian Church of England, the United Presbyterian Church, and the Free Church of Scotland, in Dundee.

Dec. 3.—Annual Meeting of the *American Church Missionary Society*, in New York.

Dec. 17.—Opening of the new *College of the Bible* at Lexington, Ky., as part of the University of Kentucky. It now has an endowment of \$70,000.

Meeting of the *Woman's National Sabbath Alliance*, in Washington.

Dec. 17-19.—*Anti-Saloon Convention*, resulting in the formation of the *American Anti-Saloon League*, in Washington, D. C.

Dec. 18.—Baptist Conference concerning the social, educational, and religious condition of *French Canadians* in New England, in Boston.

Dec. 21.—Consecration of *Mgr. John M. Farley*, Auxiliary (Roman Catholic) *Bishop of New York*.

Dec. 26-27.—Eighth Annual Meeting of the *American Society of Church History*, in New York.

Dec. 27.—Annual Meeting of the *Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis*, in New York.

Jan. 1-5.—International Convention of the *Student Volunteer Union*, in Liverpool, England.

Jan. 5-12.—Week of Prayer.

Jan. 9.—Annual Meeting of the *Congregational Church Building Society*, in New York.

A scheme of federal union of the Presbyterian Churches of Australia and Tasmania was agreed upon at the recent Federal General Assembly in Sydney. The plan comprises union in at least the two matters of Foreign Missions and the training of students for the ministry. The committee recommend as the basis of union the acknowledgment of the Scriptures as the supreme standard, and the Confession of Faith as the subordinate standard. A uniform system of theological training is proposed, with one standard of qualification for the ministry.

EPISCOPALIAN.

The *Very Rev. J. F. Stretch* has been consecrated Coadjutor Bishop of *Brisbane*; and the *Ven. H. E. Cooper*, Suffragan Bishop of *Ballarat*.

The *Rev. Henry Y. Satterlee*, D.D., has been elected bishop

of the new diocese of *Washington*, D. C.; the *Rev. Lewis W. R. Burton*, D.D., of Louisville, Ky., of the new diocese of *Lexington*; and the *Rev. Joseph H. Johnson*, D.D., of Detroit, Mich., of the new diocese of *Los Angeles*.

EDUCATIONAL—COLLEGES.

The *Rev. Arthur James Mason*, D.D., has been elected Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity in *Cambridge University*, England. Among the occupants of that chair have been Erasmus, Whitgift, Pearson, Lightfoot, Swainson, and Hort.

The *Rev. C. E. Plumb*, tutor of *St. Aidan's*, Birkenhead, has been appointed principal of *St. Stephen's House*, Oxford.

The *Rev. Professor Gilroy* has been inducted to the chair of *Hebrew* at *Aberdeen*.

Dr. W. A. P. Martin has resigned the presidency of the *Imperial Tungoo College*, Peking, China.

Rev. William H. O'Connell, of Boston, has been appointed rector of the *American College* at Rome.

Rev. Dr. William McKinley has been elected dean of the College of Theology which is to be opened in *Hamline University*, at Hamline, Minn.

Professor Mark W. Harrington has accepted the presidency of the *University of Washington*.

Dr. Charles Ellwood Nash has been inaugurated President of *Lombard University*.

President Peter McVicar, of *Washburn College*, Topeka, has resigned.

THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES.

The *Rev. Samuel J. Nicolls*, D.D., of St. Louis, who had been elected president of Lane Theological Seminary, has declined the position.

S. L. Bowman, D.D., has been engaged to conduct the Department of *Systematic Theology* in *Drew Theological Seminary*, made vacant by the death of *Dr. John Miley*.

Rev. Dr. Girardeau has ten-

dered his resignation of the Chair of Didactic and Polemic Theology in *Columbia Theological Seminary*.

The Presbyterians in the Atlantic Southern Coast, having resolved to remove Union Theological Seminary to Richmond, Va., are now considering the question of combining the Seminary at Columbia, S. C., with the one to be established at Richmond.

OBITUARY.

Adams, Rev. Myron (Congregationalist), at Rochester, N. Y., Dec. 30, aged 54. Mr. Adams was graduated from

Hamilton College, 1863, and from Auburn Theological Seminary, 1868; ordained over Dunkirk, N. Y., Church (Pres-

byterian), 1869; removed to care of Plymouth Congregational Church, Rochester, 1876.

Campbell, Rt. Rev. James Colquhoun (Anglican), *D.D.* (Cambridge, 1859), at Hastings, England, Nov. 9, aged 82. He was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, graduating *B.A.*, 1836, and *M.A.*, 1839; was ordained deacon, 1837, priest, 1838; was rector of Merthyr-Tydfil, Wales, 1844-59; rural dean of the Upper Deanery of Llandaff, Northern Division, 1844-57; honorary canon of Llandaff Cathedral, 1852-57; Archdeacon of Llandaff, 1857-59; was consecrated bishop of Bangor, 1859; retired, 1890.

Clark, Rev. Nathaniel George (Congregationalist), *D.D.* (Union College, 1866), *L.L.D.* (University of Vermont, 1875), in West Roxbury, Mass., Jan. 3, aged 71. He was born in Calais, Vt.; was graduated from the University of Vermont, 1845, and from Auburn Theological Seminary, 1852, having taken Junior and Middle Years at Andover Theological Seminary; was professor of Latin and English Literature in the University of Vermont, 1852-62; was ordained by council at Burlington, Vt., 1857; was professor of Logic, Rhetoric, and English Literature in Union College, 1862-65; foreign secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions from 1865 till his death. During the troubles of the American Board, while Dr. Clark was personally in favor of the Catholic and inclusive policy which now prevails, his temper was so calm and his attitude so judicial that his influence was always very great.

Dame, Rev. George Washing-

ton (Episcopalian), *D.D.*, in Danville, Dec. 24, aged 83. He was graduated from Hampden-Sidney College, 1829; studied medicine in Prince Edward College till 1832; prosecuted his studies still further in the University of Pennsylvania; became instructor in Greek in Hampden-Sidney College, 1833, but resigned, 1836; took charge of a school at Lynchburg, 1837; was elected principal of Danville Female Seminary, 1840; was ordained deacon, 1840, and priest, 1841, becoming rector of Camden parish, 1840; organized very soon the Church of the Epiphany, remaining as its rector for fifty-five years; he resigned last spring. For many years he carried on the work of the seminary together with his pastoral work. His long pastorate is said to have been inspired by Bishop Moore's remark: "I should like to see what a patient, earnest clergyman could do in a parish by giving his whole life to it."

Halteman, Rev. D. E. (Baptist), *D.D.*, in Delavan, Wis., Dec. 19, aged 61. He received his education at Granville and Rochester; was ordained at Bloomfield, Ill., 1857, supplying the church there for six months; removed to the pastorate of the church at Marengo, Ill., 1858; accepted a call to the church at Delavan, Wis., 1869; became corresponding secretary of the Board of the Wisconsin Baptist State Convention and Superintendent of Missions, 1880, occupying that position at his death.

Hills, Rt. Rev. George (Anglican), *D.D.*, at Parham Vicarage, Suffolk, England, Dec. 10, aged 79. He was educated at King William's College, Isle of Man, and at University College,

Durham, taking his degree at the latter place, 1836; he was ordained, 1839, and served as senior curate to Dean Hook, at Leeds, for some years; declined the incumbency of St. Saviour's, Leeds, offered by Dr. Pusey; was presented to the Vicarage of Great Yarmouth, 1848; was made honorary canon in Norwich Cathedral, 1853; declined the offer of the bishopric of Grahamstown, but accepted the election as bishop of the newly-created diocese of Columbia, 1859; was Metropolitan of the Dominion of Canada since 1880; resigned and returned to England, 1892, when he was presented to the vicarage of Parham. Bishop Hills was the author of several books.

Melchers, His Eminence Paul (Roman Catholic), in Rome, Dec. 14, aged 83. He was born in Münster, was educated for the law, but turned to theology, and was ordained priest, 1841; acted as vice-regent of the Münster Seminary, then was appointed Vicar-General; was made bishop of Osnabruck, 1857, and was promoted Archbishop of Cologne, 1866. The late cardinal was a noted figure in relation to the struggle between Bismarck and the Catholic hierarchy. While he was Archbishop of Cologne, he opposed the "May laws." His prosecution was ordered by the German government, and in 1876 he was sentenced to fine and imprisonment and was dispossessed of his see. He retired to Limburg, Holland, and attempted to direct his diocese from that place; but he was summoned to Rome, there laid down his see, and was elevated to the Cardinalate, 1885, since which time he had lived at Rome.

Merritt, Rev. Robert Norris (Episcopalian), *S.T.D.* (Columbia College, 1868), in Morristown, N. J., Dec. 12, aged 70. He was born in St. John, New Brunswick; studied at the General Theological Seminary, New York City, and afterward graduated from the University of New Brunswick, and from Trinity College, Toronto, 1849; was assigned to missionary work in Barton and Ancaster, near Hamilton, Ontario; his health becoming impaired, he visited New York and was called to the rectorship of St. Peter's, Morristown, N. J., 1853; this charge devolved on him for forty-two years, as he held it till his death.

Miley, Rev. John (Methodist Episcopal), *D.D., LL.D.*, in Madison, N. J., Dec. 10, aged 82. He was born in Princeton, O.; was graduated with honors from Augusta College, Ky., 1838; entered the ministry in the Ohio Conference, 1838, and speedily took rank as an able preacher; served as teacher in the Cincinnati Wesleyan Female College, 1847-49; was transferred to New York East Conference, and stationed in Brooklyn, 1852; here too he soon took a leading position; was transferred to the New York Conference, 1866, and was affiliated with that till his death; was called to the professorship of Systematic Theology in Drew Theological Seminary, 1873, and at once entered upon his duties. He was a member of the General Conferences of 1872, 1876, 1888, and 1892, and was fraternal delegate to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in 1886. He is the author of a highly-praised work, in two volumes, on *Systematic Theology*.

Tyler, Rev. Josiah (Congregational), *D.D.*, at Asheville, N. C., Dec. 20, aged 72. He was born at Hanover, N. H., and was a son of Dr. Bennett Tyler, president of Dartmouth College, and founder and first president of Hartford Theological Seminary; he was graduated from Amherst College, 1845, and from the Theological Seminary at East Windsor Hill, Conn., 1848; declining the offers of promising pastorates in this country, he offered for service under the American Board, went to Africa, and served for forty years among the Zulus. He has been in failing health for some time, but has left as the work of his leisure a valuable volume — *Forty Years among the Zulus*.

Ballou, Rev. R. A. (Universalist), at Newton, Mass., Dec. 29, aged 69.

Browne, Ven. Robert William, M.A. (Anglican), Archdeacon of Bath and Canon of Wells, at Wells, England, Dec. 12, aged 87.

Burroughs, Rev. George W. (Presbyterian), *M.D.*, at Bethayres, Pa., Dec. 25, aged 83.

Clark, Rev. J. L. (United Presbyterian), *D.D.*, in Adamsville, Pa., Dec. 19, aged 69.

Eastwood Rev. James (Universalist), in Guilford, Vt., Dec. 11, aged 67.

Henrich, Rev. A. (Baptist), *D.D.*, in Platte Centre, Ky., Nov. 27, aged 77.

Hurndall, Rev. William Evans (English Congregationalist), *M.A.*, in London, England, Dec. 31, aged 51.

Moore, Rev. William (Irish Presbyterian), *M.A., D.D.*, principal of the Theological Training School in Puerto Santa Maria, Spain, Nov. 22, aged 51.

Persico, Ignatius (Roman Catholic Cardinal), in Rome, Dec. 7, aged 73.

Pillsbury, Rev. W. H. H. (Methodist Episcopal), *D.D.*, at Fullerton, Neb., Dec. 28.

Tracy, Rev. William Henry (Reformed [Dutch]), in Philadelphia, Dec. 20, aged 38.

Uecke, Rev. Michael Gottlieb Frederick (Moravian), in Seymour, Wis., Dec. 10, aged 80.

Wheeler, Rev. Francis B. (Presbyterian), *S.T.D.*, for thirty-six years pastor at Poughkeepsie, N. Y., in that city, Dec. 27, aged 77.

Willett, Rev. William M. (Methodist Episcopal), in Jersey City, Dec. 7, aged 93. Mr. Willett was one of the organizers of what has developed into the School of Theology of Boston University.

CALENDAR.

[The compiler will welcome notices of meetings of general importance and interest, provided such notices reach him before the 15th of the month prior to that in which the meetings are to take place. Exact dates and names of places, when and where the meetings are to be held, are desired.]

Feb. 18-20.—Meeting of the Department of Superintendence of the *National Educational*

Association, at Jacksonville, Fla.

Ten Epochs of Church History

Edited by
John Fulton
D.D., LL.D.

New York
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1895

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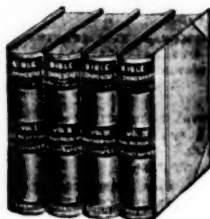
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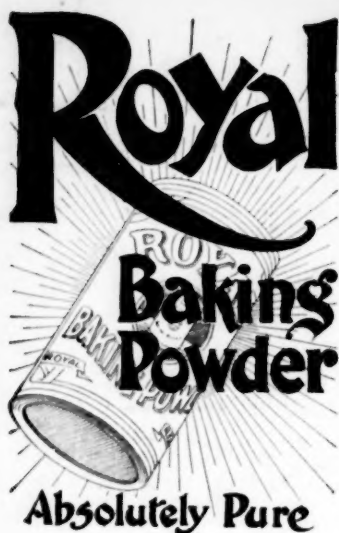
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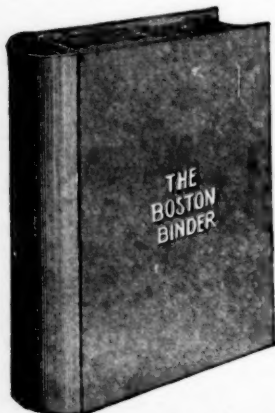
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